Ritual Memory

THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS AND LITURGICAL COMMEMORATION IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL WEST (C. 500-1215)

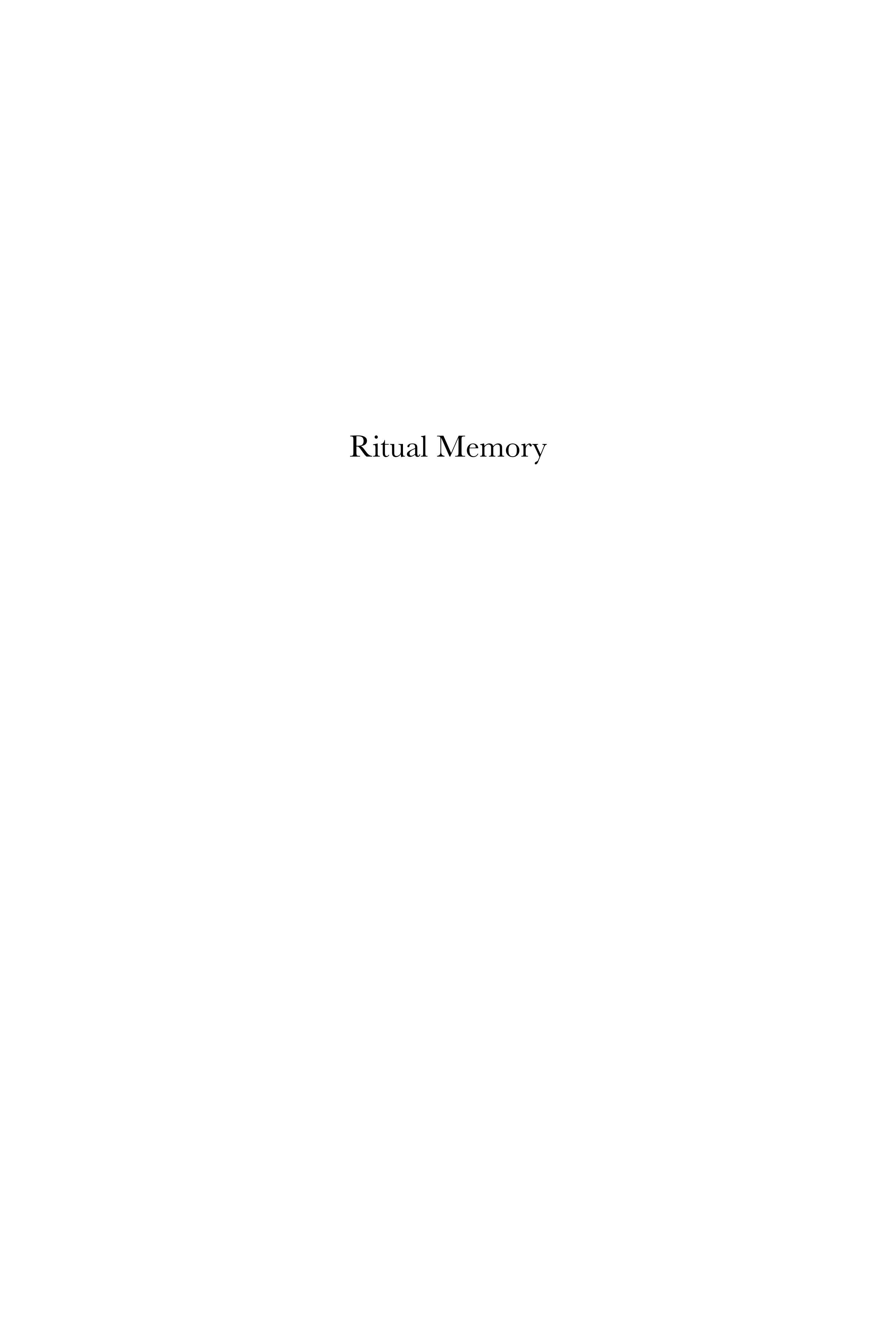



BY

ELS ROSE

BRILL

MITTELLATEINISCHE STUDIEN UND TEXTE


Ritual Memory

Mittellateinische Studien und Texte

Editor

VOLUME 40

Ritual Memory

The Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500–1215)

By

Els Rose



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2009

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Rose, E. (Els)
Ritual memory : the apocryphal Acts and liturgical commemoration in the early medieval West (c. 500-1215) / by Els Rose.
p. cm. -- (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte ; v. 40)
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-17171-8 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles--Liturgical use--Europe--History--To 1500. 2. Christian saints--Cult--Europe--History--To 1500. 3. Apostles. I. Title. II. Series
BS2871.R67 2009
229'.92506--dc22

2008055422

ISSN: 0076-9754
ISBN: 978 90 04 17171 8

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS



for Jaap

CONTENTS

PREFACE

Quis eligens Petrum respuat Paulum? Quis quaerens Andream contemnat Jacobum et Johannem?[1] With this rhetorical question, in a sermon for the feast-day of the apostles attributed to Pseudo-Fulgentius, the indissoluble bond by which Christ's disciples are interrelated is stressed. In the present study of the reception of apocryphal traditions in the medieval liturgical commemoration of the apostles, I nevertheless choose only half of the 12, thus neglecting, to a certain extent, the other six. Bartholomew, Matthew, Philip and James the Less, Simon and Jude are my elect, and during my research I came to indicate them as 'The Minor Apostles'. This is certainly an unjust qualification. For who would find in the medieval tradition an approach to Matthew, to mention only one, as less important than John or Peter? Was he not the first witness to the gospel in written form? Yet a selection was needed in order to arrange a manageable collection of sources, and my eyes fell on the less famous brothers, living somewhat in the shadow of the *principes apostolorum* Peter and Paul, the heroes of the canonical Acts of the apostles.

A word of warm-hearted thanks to many communities, institutions, and individuals is at place here. First I thank the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) for its generous VENI-grant that enabled the research of which this book is the harvest. I thank the Research Institute for History and Culture (OGC), the Faculty of Humanities, and Utrecht University for hosting me and my project from December 2003 to July 2007, and in particular Maarten Prak and Frans Ruiter for their support. I thank Mayke de Jong, Árpád Orbán, Willemien Otten, and Gerard Rouwhorst who were connected to the project as advisors from the beginning. I thank Harvard Divinity School (Cambridge, Mass.) for receiving me as a Visiting Scholar in the autumn semester of 2004–2005, in particular François Bovon and Beverly Mayne Kienzle who extended gracious hospitality and

[1] 'Who would choose Peter and reject Paul? Who would seek Andrew and despise James and John?' Pseudo-Fulgentius, *Sermo* 67. PL 65, col. 939.

friendship in addition to scholarly insights. I thank the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) in Wassenaar for a fellowship during the spring semester of 2005–2006, passed in a precious atmosphere of learned and collegiate concentration. A warm thanks to Mayke de Jong, Rosamond McKitterick, David Ganz, and Helmut Reimitz, who welcomed me into their circle studying the formation of Carolingian political identity. Other good company on 'the medieval attic' in Wassenaar was offered by Arjo Vanderjagt, Jan Ziolkowski, Joseph Harris, and Anu Mänd. I thank Brill Publishers and especially Paul Gerhard Schmidt, Julian Deahl, Marcella Mulder, Renate de Vries, and Juleen Eichinger for their editorial support. I am particularly grateful to François Bovon, François Dolbeau, and Gerard Rouwhorst, who read the entire manuscript and gave valuable advice. I thank a number of friends and colleagues who read parts of the manuscript or otherwise accompanied me during my research in various stages, particularly Jacqueline Borsje, Susan Boynton, Max Diesenberger, Patrick Geary, Rémi Gounelle, Yitzhak Hen, Ton Hilhorst, Annewies van den Hoek and John Herrmann, Michel Huglo, Dominique Iogna-Prat, AnneMarie Luijendijk, Hugo Lundhaug, Rob Meens, Eward Postma, Janneke Raaijmakers, Claudia Rapp, Irene van Renswoude, Carmela Vircillo Franklin, members of the *Association pour les études de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne* (AELAC) and participants of its annual meeting, members of the Utrecht research group Identiteit in wording (Identity in the making), the colleagues at OGC, and the Utrecht medievalists as well as the students who subscribed to my classes and contributed to the project in their own particular way by asking the right questions.

Finally, I thank Jaap Tuijn, for his support and trust.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–)
AH	*Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1886–1922)
BHG	F. Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd edition (Brussels, 1957)
BHL	*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (Brussels, 1898–1901)
CANT	M. Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992)
CAO	R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii* (Rome, 1963)
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1966–)
CCSA	*Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* (Turnhout, 1983–)
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1953–)
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–)
DACL	F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1907–1953)
ÉAC	*Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1997 and 2005)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications (London, 1890–)
LMA	*Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1977–1999)
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg i.B., 1957–1967 / 1993–2001)
LWb	L. Brinkhoff e.a. (eds.), *Liturgisch Woordenboek* (Roermond, 1958–1968)
MGG	L. Finscher (ed.), *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed. (Kassel, 1994–)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae historica*
	AA *Antiquitates* (Berlin, 1877–1919)
	SRM B. Krusch and W. Levison, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* (Hanover, 1884–1951)
PG	J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus series Graeca* (Paris 1857–1866)
PL	J.-P. Migne (ed.): *Patrologia cursus completus series Latina* (Paris, 1844–1890)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1950–)
SChr	*Sources chrétiennes* (Paris, 1941–)
Typologie des sources	Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental (Turnhout, 1972–)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. *The question*

If any general characteristics can be attributed to medieval religious culture, one of them is certainly commemoration: the communal remembrance of events and persons from the past in a ritual setting.[1] Medieval liturgy, or public worship, is marked not only by the commemoration of the central episodes of the life of Christ, but also by the annual, weekly, even daily communal remembrance of holy men and women: the saints. This commemoration of particular predecessors that had played and continued to play a special role in the Christian community (be it the local group of faithful or the church at large) was contributary to the determination of the communal identity of the members of that community. The selection of saints makes visible with what kind of Christians medieval faithful wanted to be identified, whom they saw as their role models and whom they accepted as the founders of their religious belief. Moreover, saintly figures were indispensible in the system of patronage that forms a core characteristic of the Christian religion of this period. The appeal to a saint, whose life was supposed to continue in heaven, was a precious support against the threats in the mortal world: illness and death as well as temptation and sin.

Crucial to this commemorative system of the liturgical cult of saints is the availability of a written (or orally transmitted) account of their life, deeds, and death. These accounts were (partially or wholly) recited

[1] My definition of commemoration is determined by a focus on the liturgical aspects of this phenomenon. Studies of the *memoria* of the dead in a more general socio-cultural context are provided by O.G. Oexle, 'Memoria als Kultur', in idem (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen, 1995), pp. 9–78; and P. Geary, 'Exchange and interaction between the living and the dead in early medieval society', in idem, *Living with the dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 77–92. For a specifically monastic context, see J. Raaijmakers, *Sacred time, sacred space. History and identity at the monastery of Fulda (744–856)* (Phd. diss., Amsterdam, 2003), pp. 21–55. For the later medieval period, see T. van Bueren and A. van Leerdam (eds.), *Care for the here and the hereafter:* memoria, *art and ritual in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2005).

during the liturgical celebrations on the day of the saint's death, celebrated as an anniversary, and they echoed in the prayers and chants during the services on this *dies natalis*.

The present study focuses on a particular category of saints: the apostles, the twelve disciples of Christ who became the first missionaries of Christianity. The apostles rank highly in the hierarchy of saints, not only because of their intimate relation with Christ but also because almost all of them were supposed to have finished their life in martyrdom.[2] Given the special character of the saints under scrutiny, this study also centres on a particular kind of saints' literature. The stories of the apostles' lives is told in the books of the canonical New Testament, where they are pictured as the inner circle surrounding Jesus in the four gospels, and as a group of missionaries in the book of Acts of the apostles. Despite their leading role in the ancient stories of Christianity, they are not all given equal attention in the biblical books. Some apostles, for example James the Greater and his brother John, are prominent in the gospels, while others, for example Peter, get their share in the book of Acts as well. Yet others, such as Bartholomew and Simon, are less visible. Moreover, neither the gospels nor the book of Acts give much information about the way the apostles finished their holy lives.[3] This aspect of a saint's biography, his or her (blessed) death, is precisely the most important element in the genre of hagiography. The death of a saint counted as his or her birth in heaven: *mors sancta vitam praebuit*, as a hymn for one of the apostolic feast-days says.[4] Therefore, when a saint was dying, heaven opened a little, and a glimpse of future blessed life could be obtained (see the description of Stephen's martyrdom in Acts 7:55–56). Already in the first centuries of Christianity, writings came into existence which filled in the biblical lacunas with regard to the apostles. Next to the canonical book of Acts, in which the apostles appear as a collegium of twelve, books of Acts of the individual apostles were composed, the so-called apocryphal Acts, not incorporated into the biblical canon and dedicated each to one apostle in particular, telling the adventures of this single apostle in the mission area assigned to him, including his martyrdom and death.

[2] This theme will be discussed elaborately in the case studies (chapters 2–5), and synthetically in chapter 6.

[3] There is one exception: the death of James the Greater (Acts 12:1–2).

[4] Hymn *Throno sedente* in honour of Simon and Jude, see chapter 5. See also P. Brown, *The cult of the saints. Its rise and function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 3–4.

Although ecclesiastical authorities often disapproved of these extra-canonical writings, for reasons that will be further discussed in the 1st chapter, the apocryphal Acts strongly influenced the liturgical commemoration of the apostles during the medieval period. Liturgy itself is widely assumed to have played an important role in the transmission of apocryphal traditions. It is even thought that the use of apocrypha in the liturgy had a certain domesticating effect on these extra-canonical writings.[5] However, this particular process of the transmission of apocrypha through liturgy has never been fully explored. Although the connection between liturgical texts and apocryphal writings has been studied for one particular saint,[6] a systematic approach to this matter has been lacking so far. The present study develops such an approach. Its main question is the relation between liturgical commemoration and the apocryphal literature on the apostles, with a special focus on the mutual influence of the two domains on each other. The detailed investigation of textual sources in ritual (liturgical) and narrative (apocryphal) contexts is connected to more general questions regarding the different fields in which this complex relation is entangled and aims to shed more light on the latter. Thus, the debate on *apocrypha*, the relation between liturgy and apocrypha, and the rich body of saints' literature, or hagiography, are matters of study in this book.

By studying the cult of the apostles in medieval Christianity from the twin perspective of liturgy and apocrypha, much could be gained for all fields, most importantly, a release from a somewhat isolated position. The perspective of apocrypha makes clear that liturgy was not a disconnected phenomenon in the Middle Ages, a field where the specialists dominated, but the expression of a living faith, where the ritual commemoration of the Christian past created a crossroads from where religious communities developed. Apocryphal literature, likewise, turns out to be interwoven in all kinds of liturgical practices, instead of being banned to a shadowy corner of the attic of the house of Christian *traditio*. In the present study, the apocrypha, with their long-standing reputation as literature 'for education and enjoyment', will be presented as fundamental documents to various Christian communities, used and re-used in the ritual context of the liturgy in order to recall the period of foundation, and to appeal to the apostles, the founders of the worldwide *ecclesia*, as founders also of particular medieval Christian communities.

[5] See chapter 1, section 1, footnote 15.

[6] E.g. J. Flamion, *Les Actes apocryphes de l'apôtre André* (Louvain, 1911).

2. *Choices and design*

In order to deal with the wide range of apocryphal and liturgical material with which the long medieval period provides us, choices had to be made. The first is a choice of perspective. The book follows the route from liturgical feast to apocryphal narrative: the liturgical celebration of the individual apostles is the point of departure. Texts in use during the liturgical services of these days are examined for their use of apocryphal material.

Then a selection of protagonists had to be made. A study of all 12 apostles goes far beyond the scope of one monograph—in fact, they would all deserve a detailed study. In this book, only six of the 12 appear, not the heroes of the traditional five major Acts—the Acts of Peter, Paul, John, Thomas, and Andrew, all composed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries[7]—but the other six: Bartholomew, Philip and James the Less, Matthew, and Simon and Jude.[8] In this selection, two pairs of apostles figure, because they are celebrated together on one feast-day: Philip and James on 1 May, and Simon and Jude on 28 October. The background of these shared feast-days will be explained in the specific chapters.

In the third place, a choice had to be made concerning the liturgical texts under investigation, given the wealth of liturgical material present in the medieval library at large. This study concentrates on the core moments of the liturgical day: the celebration of mass, and the rhythm of the daily hours or *officium divinum* in cathedral and monastic usage. Liturgical texts as such are studied, that is, prayers of mass, and chants of the office liturgy. Additionally, hymns in honour of the apostles are taken into consideration. All these texts were especially composed for the feast-day of a specific apostle (so-called *proprium* texts). Only these free compositions are studied, whereas the readings are left out of consideration, in order to enable study of the echoes of the apocryphal narratives and their reception in a ritual context. In addition to liturgi-

---

[7] J. Bremmer, 'The five major apocryphal Acts: authors, place, time and readership', in idem, *The apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (Louvain, 2001), pp. 149–170.

[8] Exactly the same division is found in the iconographic programme of the Basilica di San Marco in Venice. Here, the mosaics of the apostles Peter, Paul, John, James the Greater, Andrew, and Thomas are found in the north vault, whereas the 'minor' apostles Philip and James, Matthew, Bartholomew, and Simon and Jude are depicted in the south vault. See O. Demus, *The mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Chicago, 1984), vol. I.1, p. 219*s*.

cal texts *stricto sensu*, a special kind of data carrier is examined: the early medieval lists of apostles and martyrological sources, in which a brief account is given of the life, deeds, and martyrdom of each individual apostle, completed with some basic information about his cult and *dies natalis*. In some cases, these apostle lists and martyrological sources preserve legendary traditions that are not found in the Latin apocrypha but do occur in the liturgical texts.

Last but not least, the present study has its geographical and chronological boundaries. A natural chronological limit is found in the 13th century, when large collections of saints' lives were composed such as the works of James of Voragine and Vincentius of Beauvais. Whether these collectors were inspired by the renewed passion for preaching, the importance of which was stressed by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215),[9] or not, the *Legenda aurea* was very popular among preachers who used it as a source of inspiration and material.[10] The work was spread in numerous manuscripts, both in Latin and in the vernaculars.[11] The increase of material from the beginning of the 13th century is such that an overview in one book is no longer feasible. For all sources, a limitation to Latin documents available in print is valid. Geographically, the focus of the study is on the development of the cults of the individual apostles in the medieval West, generally conducted by the spread of their relics. The main aim of the book is to give a general overview rather than to study individual cults in specific regions in all possible detail. For this purpose, some sources are studied for all chosen apostles. The main liturgical domains of the earlier medieval period are investigated, including Rome, Frankish Gaul, Spain before the reforms of Cluny, early medieval England, and the Italian regions outside Rome (centred around Milan and Benevento).

The choice of six apostles, some of whom share a feast-day, results in four case studies, presented in chapters 2 to 5. Chapter 1 includes a discussion of general questions related to the main question, such

---

[9] Decree 10: *De praedicatoribus instituendis*. Cfr N.P. Tanner, 'Pastoral care: the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *A history of pastoral care* (London, 2000), pp. 112–125, esp. 116–117; for the text of the decree, see N.P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, 2 vols. (London, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 239–240.

[10] G. Barone, 'Legenda aurea. Werk', in LMA V, cols. 1796–1797. On intention and use of the *Legenda aurea*, see B. Fleith, 'Legenda aurea: destination, utilisation, propagation', in S. Boesch (ed.), *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni* (Fasano di Brindisi, 1990), pp. 41–48.

[11] An overview is given in LMA V, cols. 1797–1801.

as the present debate concerning Christian apocryphal literature; the approach to apocryphal traditions by several medieval authors; the relation between the apocryphal Acts of the apostles in their Latin transmission and hagiography; and the relation between apocrypha and liturgy. The 6th chapter is of synthetic character, and collects the main themes that occur in the ritual commemoration of the apostles. In the same chapter, the question is examined what transformations the apocryphal narratives went through when they were used in a ritual context. The ritual commemoration of the apostles and of their life and death, as transmitted in the apocryphal Acts, did not only shape the Christian community and its identity. The ritual use of the apocryphal narratives also transformed these narratives themselves.

In the following, some technical aspects of the liturgical and apocryphal sources recurring in the separate chapters will be discussed.

3. *The sources*

3.1. *The liturgy of mass*

Before the 12th century, the liturgical texts of both the eucharistic liturgy and the liturgy of the hours were transmitted in a number of books of different genres. For the celebration of the eucharist, prayers were collected in the *sacramentarium*, biblical lessons in the *lectionarium*, chants in the *graduale*. Likewise, the daily office had its *antiphonale* with the office chants, the *psalter* containing the psalms, and the *capitulare* with the (brief) lessons.[12] In the 11th and 12th centuries, the variety of books was replaced by the *Missale plenum* (for mass) and the breviary (for the liturgy of the hours), books that had developed gradually from the late 9th century onwards.[13]

The most important book for the celebration of the eucharist (or mass) before the 12th century is the *sacramentarium*.[14] This book contains

[12] On liturgical books for mass and the divine office, see É. Palazzo, *Le Moyen Age. Des origines aux XIIIe siècle* (Beauchesne, 1993 = Histoire des livres liturgiques); C. Vogel, *Medieval liturgy. An introduction to the sources* (Spoleto, 1986); and A. Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office: a guide to their organization and terminology* (Toronto, 1982).

[13] Palazzo, *Le Moyen Age*, pp. 124–127 (Missal), 180–183 (Breviary).

[14] For an introduction to the genre, see M. Metzger, *Les sacramentaires* (Turnhout, 1994 = Typologie des sources 70); and Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, p. 64. For more informa-

the presidential prayers and all other texts recited by the celebrant (priest or bishop) during the celebration of mass. The earliest extant manuscripts generally follow the circle of the liturgical year, weaving the saints' feasts (*Sanctorale*) together with the feasts commemorating the events in the life of Christ (*Temporale*), whereas later manuscripts (from the 8th century onwards), add the Sanctorale as a separate part. In some of the manuscripts, only the prayers for the second part of mass, the celebration of the eucharist proper, are given, whereas the prayers accompanying the introductory rites and the first half of mass, concentrated on biblical lessons and perhaps a sermon or homily, are left out. The discussion of prayer texts for mass in the following chapters focuses on the eucharistic prayer, consisting of various texts to be introduced *in situ*.

During the period in which the sacramentary bloomed, regional differences in the liturgy of mass were considerable. The present study discusses examples from different regions, determined by the spread of the cults of the apostles. The early sacramentaries of Merovingian Gaul, such as the *Missale Gothicum* and the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*, will occur only rarely, given the fact that most of the liturgical cults of the apostles under consideration developed in the centuries after these books were copied.[15] More prominent are the Gallican sacramentaries of a century later, the so-called *Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries*. This family of sacramentaries presents the liturgical tradition in the Frankish lands of the 8th and 9th centuries, combining material from the early Gallican liturgy with traditions and material from the Roman rite.[16] In contradiction to the earlier generation of Gallican sacramentaries, the *Eighth-century Gelasiana* show considerable mutual uniformity. Between the early medieval Gallican sacramentaries and the *Eighth-century Gelasiana*, representing as it were two 'liturgical generations', a significant change in the composition of eucharistic prayers is visible. While the prayers of the earlier generation are notable for their ample attention to hagiographic traditions,[17] the texts in the *Eighth-century*

---

tion on specific sacramentaries, see the individual introductions to the editions used in the following chapters.

[15] *Missale Gothicum*, E. Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum e codice Vaticano Reginensi latino 317 editum* (Turnhout, 2005 = CCSL 159D); and *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*, H.C.A. Dold and L. Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar im CLM 14429 der Staatsbibliothek München* (Beuron, 1964).

[16] Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 70–78.

[17] Cfr chapter 1, footnote 49.

Gelasiana are marked by a much more sober and confined character. The most important representatives of this tradition are the *Sacramentary of Gellone* (considered to be the most ancient exemplar), the sacramentaries of Angoulême and Autun, the *Sacramentary of Sankt Gallen*, and that of Prague.[18]

The Iberian peninsula developed to a certain extent an independent liturgical tradition until the reformation activities of Pope Gregory VII in the last quarter of the 11th century.[19] This Old Spanish tradition is also called the Visigothic or Mozarabic rite, rather misleading indications, because they wrongly connect the liturgical developments to either the Visigothic kingdom from the end of the 5th century, or the period following the Arabic invasion in 711. The particularities of the Old Spanish liturgy,[20] however, can for the greater part be attributed to the bishops of Toledo in the second half of the 7th century.[21] Quite a few manuscripts reflecting this tradition have survived until now,[22] but there is only one manuscript containing a complete sacramentary of the Old Spanish rite. This manuscript, now belonging to the cathedral library of Toledo, is edited under the name *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* or *Liber missarum de Toledo* (hereafter LMS).[23] Although

---

[18] *Sacramentarium Gellonense*, A. Dumas and J. Deshusses (eds.), *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis* (Turnhout, 1981 = CCSL 159); *Sacramentarium Engolismense*, P. Saint Roch (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis* (Turnhout, 1987 = CCSL 159C); *Sacramentarium Augustodunense*, O. Heiming (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis* (Turnhout, 1984 = CCSL 159B); *Sacramentarium Sangallense*, L.C. Mohlberg (ed.), *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangall, No. 348)* (Münster 1939 = Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 1–2); and *Sacramentary of Prague*, A. Dold (ed.), *Das Prager Sakramentar (Codex O.38 (fol. 1–120) der Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels)* (Beuron, 1949).

[19] On the liturgical customs of early medieval Spain, see A.A. King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees* (London, 1957), pp. 457–631; J. Pinell, 'Mozarabische liturgie', in LWb II, cols. 1796–1825; F. Cabrol, 'Mozarabe (la liturgie)', in DACL 12, cols. 390–491; Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 279–280 (bibliographical references); P. David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris and Lisbon, 1947); and J.F. Rivera Recio, 'La herejia adopcionista del siglo VIII y la ortodoxía de la liturgia mozárabe', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 17 (1933), 506–536.

[20] Regarding terminology, I follow Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, p. 277. See further on the different names and their difficulties, King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, pp. 457–459. King, on pp. 458–459, defends the traditional term 'Mozarabic liturgy', probably invented when Gregory VII put an end to the Old Spanish liturgy and still used by the only practitioners of the rite after the 11th century who have preserved it in a chapel of Toledo cathedral until the present day.

[21] King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, pp. 457–458 and 485–494.

[22] See ibid., p. 522*s*, for a list of sources.

[23] Férotin used the first name: M. Férotin (ed.), *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (Paris,

the manuscript itself can be dated to the 10th century,[24] the material it contains goes further back, part of it maybe even as far back as the 7th century.[25] This book will figure in all the case studies.

In liturgical matters, Rome is a complicated entity, both because of the special position of this city as metropolis of the western church and because of the difficulties of interpreting the scarce sources that have been transmitted to us for the early period. The liturgical situation in Rome is marked by the distinction between the papal liturgy and the liturgy in the other churches, where priests served in strong connection with the Lateran. Sacramentaries reflecting the rites of both kinds have been preserved, and two of these early Roman sacramentaries figure in the case studies of this book. The first, the so-called *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, has become well known by the request made by Charlemagne towards the end of the 8th century to the then Pope Hadrian I (772–795) to send him a copy of the liturgical book as it had been used by Pope Gregory I.[26] Hadrian, somewhat confused by the request because it presupposed a book that did not actually exist, sent Charlemagne a collection of masses for the feast-days and special Sundays during which he himself was the main celebrant.[27] This book, later called *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum* after its donor, did not suit the liturgical needs of the Franks at all and a supplement to it was composed, presumably by Benedict of Aniane.[28] It is more difficult to present a picture of the other kind of Roman liturgy, celebrated in the so-called presbyterial churches. It is supposed to be reflected by the

1912; repr. A. Ward and C. Johnson, Rome, 1995). The edition used in this study is J. Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo (ms. 35.3 of the Cathedral Library in Toledo)*, 2 vols. (Toledo, 1982–1983).

[24] Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, p. 109. King's statement that the LMS 'represents the state of the liturgy in the 11th century' (King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, p. 525) is difficult to combine with the dating of the MS, certainly Cabrol's, who dates it even earlier than the 10th century.

[25] Cabrol, 'Mozarabe (la liturgie)', col. 407; cfr King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, p. 486.

[26] J. Deshusses (ed.), *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (Fribourg, 1971 = Spicilegium Friburgense 16).

[27] Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 79–82.

[28] Ibid., pp. 85–90. The attribution of the Supplement to Benedict of Aniane replaces a longstanding conviction that this piece had been written by Alcuin. The authorship of Benedict is questioned anew by Philippe Bernard, 'Benoît d'Aniane est-il l'auteur de l'avertissement "Hucusque" et du Supplément au sacramentaire "Hadrianum"?', *Studi medievali* 39 (1998), 1–20.

Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus, called after Pope Gelasius I (492–496).[29] This book, however, is transmitted in a sole manuscript (Vat. reg. lat. 316) written in a Frankish monastery around 750.[30] The book is a mixture of Roman and Frankish elements,[31] which makes it difficult to label the book's origin with one word.

The liturgy in early medieval Italy outside Rome did not copy the rites of the papal city. Independent traditions, though certainly connected with Roman customs, were in use in the other metropolitan centre, Milan, as well as in major centres in the south (such as Benevento). The Milanese liturgy of the early Middle Ages is presented in the sacramentaries of, for example, Bergamo and Biasca;[32] the liturgy of Benevento is preserved in a number of manuscripts and fragments of the 10th and 11th centuries.[33] These books will be further discussed in the different case studies.

The eucharistic liturgy of early medieval England is represented in this study by a collection of blessings, the so-called *Canterbury Benedictional*, transmitted in a manuscript belonging to the chapter of Canterbury cathedral and dated to the second quarter of the 11th century. It contains blessings for the feasts of all the apostles under consideration and will, therefore, return in all the following chapters.[34]

3.2. *The liturgy of the hours*

The *officium divinum*, 'divine office' or 'liturgy of the hours', developed both in a cathedral (secular) and a monastic setting.[35] The initial bipolar ritual celebrating the expectation of the new day in the evening

---

[29] L. Mohlberg (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (Rome, 1968 = Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series Maior, Fontes IV).

[30] Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 64–65.

[31] Ibid., pp. 66–67.

[32] *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, A. Paredi (ed.), *Sacramentarium Bergomense: manoscritto del secolo IX della Biblioteca di S. Alessandro in Colonna in Bergamo* (Bergamo, 1962); *Sacramentary of Biasca*, O. Heiming, *Das ambrosianische Sakramentar von Biasca* (Münster, 1969 = Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 51).

[33] K. Gamber, 'Die mittelitalienisch-beneventanischen Plenarmissalien. Der Messbuchtypus des Metropolitangebiets von Rom im 9. / 10. Jahrhundert', *Sacris erudiri* 9 (1957), 265–285; S. Rehle (ed.), *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W6)* (Regensburg 1972 = Textus patristici et liturgici 9).

[34] R.M. Woolley (ed.), *The Canterbury Benedictional (British Museum, Harl. Ms. 2892)* (London, 1917 = HBS 51).

[35] For an introduction to the subject, see R. Taft, *The liturgy of the hours in East and West: the origins of the divine office and its meaning for today* (Collegeville, Minn., 1986).

(*Vesperae*: evensong) and the return of light in the morning (*Laudes*: morning praise), as was common in the episcopal centres of the early church, was mixed with the monastic usage to pray at regular times during the day and the night. This developed into a system of seven *horae*, spread over the day (Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and the monastic prayer before sleep called Compline) and one service during the night: Matins. The latter service is the most elaborate, keeping the monks and canons awake in the dark. Feast-day Matins consists of three vigils or *nocturnae*, and is filled with lessons from the Bible, hagiographic literature, and patristic writings, and the accompanying chants.[36] The other hours are filled with elaborate recitation of psalms, brief lessons, prayers, and a hymn.[37] Psalms and lessons are all accompanied by chants, either antiphons or responsories. The antiphon functions as a kind of refrain, both preceding and concluding the psalm verses. It is mainly a repetition of a central verse of the psalm, or, particularly in the office of Matins, a short line referring to the central theme of the day often derived from one of the lessons. The responsory is sung as an answer to each lesson and often repeats a central phrase of the lesson in question. Particularly during feast-days, both of the temporal and of the sanctoral cycle, these chants reflect on the main theme of the feast. Both antiphons and responsories are, therefore, important source texts for the present investigation.

The number of manuscripts (*antiphonalia*—see above) and the amount of material for the medieval Latin liturgy of the hours are overwhelming, because many local religious centres added their own accents, choosing which (sanctorale) feasts they celebrated and developing their own traditions regarding text and music. Fortunately, a collection of texts of the chants sung during the liturgy of the hours is composed by the Benedictine monk, René-Jean Hesbert, in his *Corpus antiphonalium officii* (CAO). Hesbert based his collection on 12 of the earliest extant manuscripts of *antiphonalia* from the 9th to 12th centuries, representing both the cathedral and the monastic office. Because of the ingenuity and complexity of the work, a short introduction is at place here.[38]

---

[36] For a survey and explanation of the liturgical day and the liturgy of the hours, see J. Harper, *The forms and orders of western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 45–48 and 73–108; and Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office*, pp. 14–19.

[37] For a (simplified) overview of the various elements, see Palazzo, *Le Moyen Age*, pp. 141–142; for a more elaborate version, see Taft, *Liturgy of the hours*, pp. 134–138.

[38] See also Palazzo, *Le Moyen Age*, pp. 150–153.

Cathedral and monastic usage

Hesbert's impressive work—parallelling his earlier collection of mass chants *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*[39]—is divided into two parts. In part one, the six oldest manuscripts reflecting cathedral usage are collected; in part two, the material for the monastic liturgy of the hours is assembled, likewise on the basis of the six oldest manuscripts. For his edition, Hesbert has deliberately renounced the format of a critical edition, because of the many variants in the set of oldest manuscripts. Instead, he has chosen a concordance-like rendition in six columns, thus presenting the material as a whole, but also indicating the parallels and the differences between the various traditions.[40]

The differences between cathedral and monastic practice are visible in the outline of the divine office, most conspicuously in the night office (Matins). In both traditions, Matins is divided into three nocturns, where psalms and lessons are recited, flanked by antiphons and responsories respectively. Whereas Matins in the cathedral consists of three nocturns, each with three psalm-antiphons and three responsories to the lessons, in the monastic office the nocturns are built up as follows: the first two nocturns contain six antiphons and four responsories, the third nocturn nine antiphons and nine responsories.[41]

In the manuscripts of the antiphonal, not all the texts of the entire office of a day are found. Usually, the 'proper' texts are given, those that are composed for a specific feast-day, and the general (*commune*, 'common') texts are left out.[42] Proper texts are mainly found in the night office, and in Vespers and Lauds. Therefore, the present study attends mainly to these major hours, and it does not deal with the so-called 'little hours' during the day (Terce, Prime, Sext, None) or the service that concludes the day, Compline. These hours do not contain much material specific to the celebration of an apostle's life.

---

39 R.-J. Hesbert (ed.), *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935).

40 R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963), vol. 1 (*Manuscripti 'Cursus Romani'*), p. xi. In the parallel survey, only the incipits of the texts are given; the full texts are collected in vols. 3 (*Invitatoria et antiphonae*) and 4 (*Responsoria, versus, hymni et varia*).

41 Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, pp. xi–xii.

42 'Proper' texts are those used for one specific occasion, belonging to a particular feast or Sunday. 'Common' texts are general texts, used for several occasions, such as the chant *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in finis orbis terrae verba eorum*, used for many apostle offices. On the use of proper and common texts in the liturgy of the hours, see Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts of mass and office*, pp. 44–49.

The manuscripts

The oldest manuscripts for the liturgy of the hours are antiphonals, i.e. books containing the office chants for all days of the liturgical year, both Sundays and feast-days of the temporale cycle and saints' days. Only one of the transmitted manuscripts is older than the 11th century and has no musical notation: the *Antiphonal of Compiègne*. The remaining 11 sources date to the 11th and 12th centuries.[43] A brief introduction to all 12 manuscripts follows here, following Hesbert, even if they will not all return in the case studies of the present book.

Of the manuscripts reflecting cathedral usage, only the *Antiphonal of Compiègne* dates to the 9th century (third quarter).[44] The book, containing the antiphonal of both mass and office,[45] finds its origin in the monastery of St Cornelius in Compiègne and is also considered to be the antiphonal of Charles the Bald.[46] The *'French Antiphonal' of Durham* is a nameless antiphonal conserved in Durham and finds its origin in the north of France in the 11th century.[47] It is also called the 'Gallican antiphonal'. Apart from an office antiphonal, it contains two collections of homilies. The *Antiphonal of Bamberg*, dating to the end of the 12th century, is of south-German origin and betrays the influence of the monastery of Skt Gallen.[48] The remaining three cathedral antiphonals, all dating to the 11th century, are from northern Italy. The *Antiphonal of Ivrea* was in use in the cathedral of Ivrea.[49] The *Antiphonal of Monza* is transmitted in a manuscript of the early 11th century and contains a mass antiphonal as well.[50] The musical notation has many parallels with the notation of Skt Gallen.[51] Finally, the *Antiphonal of Verona*, likewise dating to the 11th century, is typical for the region of Verona as far

---

43 Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xi.

44 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF) lat. 17436. Wilmart dates the book between 860 and 880. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xvii.

45 The antiphonal of the divine office is found on fols. 31ᵛ–107ʳ.

46 Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xvii.

47 Durham, Chapter B. III. 11. The (incomplete) antiphonal is on fols. 136–159. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xix.

48 Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, lit. 23. The antiphonal is on fols. 1–159ʳ. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xx.

49 Ivrea, Chapter 106. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xx.

50 Monza, Chapter c. 12.75. The office antiphonal is on fols. 95ᵛ–251. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xxi.

51 Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xxi.

as its musical notation is concerned, although there are some features of the tradition of Nonantola.[52]

Of the monastic antiphonals, the *Antiphonal of Hartker* is transmitted in a two-volume manuscript made by the monk Hartker, who lived as a recluse in Skt Gallen from 986 until 1011 or 1017.[53] It is the earliest antiphonal of the divine office with musical notation. This antiphonal is a hybrid book that, despite its monastic origin, not only contains monastic material but also betrays considerable influence of cathedral usage.[54] The manuscript in which the *Antiphonal of Rheinau* is transmitted dates to the 13th century and contains already all the elements that belong to the breviary.[55] The *Antiphonal of St Denis* dates to the 12th century and is contained in a manuscript that additionally comprises some proper offices of saints.[56] The *Antiphonal of Saint-Maur-les-Fossés* is transmitted in a composite manuscript, partly dating to the 15th century and partly to the 12th. The latter part contains the office antiphonal of the monastery of Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, in the forests near Paris.[57] Spain is represented in CAO by the *Antiphonal of Silos*, transmitted in an 11th-century manuscript now in the British Museum in London. Both the script and the musical notation betray the book's Visigothic origin.[58] The *Antiphonal of San Lupo*, a Beneventan monastery, dates to the end of the 12th century and is of Beneventan origin as far as script as well as musical notation are concerned.[59]

3.3. *Lists of apostles and martyrologies*

Although the focus of this study is on the reception of apocryphal material in the prayers and chants in the liturgy of mass and office, other sources with a more or less direct link to the liturgy are important as well, because they reflect the spread and development of the cults of the apostles and of the apocryphal traditions concerning them.

---

[52] Verona, Chapter XCVIII. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xxii.
[53] Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2 (*Manuscripti 'Cursus monastici'*), p. vi.
[54] Ibid., p. vii.
[55] Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 28. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, p. ix. The antiphonal is found on fols. 428–642.
[56] Paris, BnF lat. 17296. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, p. xi.
[57] Paris, BnF lat. 12584. The antiphonal is on fols. 216v–373. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, pp. xv–xvi.
[58] London, British Museum (hereafter BM) add. 30850. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, p. xvii.
[59] Benevento, Chapter V. 21. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, p. xx.

Therefore, in each chapter, attention will be paid to a particular kind of sources on the cult of the apostles: lists of biblical persons, including the apostles, and martyrologies. The connection with the liturgy is variable. While martyrologies have a direct link to the liturgy as indicators of the particular feast-day of the martyrs, the relation between liturgy and lists of apostles (and prophets, patriarchs, disciples) is not always so obvious.

Lists of apostles

The practice of listing the lives and deaths of the apostles occurring in the canonical gospels and Acts can be traced as far back as the 4th century.[60] The occurrence of the names of the apostles in the New Testament (Mt 10:2–4; Mk 3:16–19; Lk 6:14–16; Acts 1:13) and the mentioning of a group of 70 disciples (Lk 10:1 and 10:17)[61] raised the curiosity of the faithful about life and death of these biblical heroes. The need to know more about the lives and deeds of the founding figures of Christianity gave birth to the lists of apostles, which seem to have functioned as statements presenting the origin of different local churches, in order to establish or confirm an apostolic origin by claiming a certain apostle as their founder or first bishop. The lists provided the churches with a brief answer to the most urgent questions concerning the apostles: where and how did they die? where are their tombs? who was at the origin of the earliest Christian communities?—thus filling in the gaps left by the canonical New Testament but skirting the verbosity of the longer *Passions* and *Virtutes* of the apostles.[62]

---

[60] A poem by Paulinus of Nola, composed in the early 5th century (404–405), seems to be inspired by this kind of lists. F. Dolbeau, 'Listes d'apôtres et de disciples', in ÉAC 2 (Paris, 2005), pp. 453–480, at 462. For further reading on the lists of the apostles and disciples, see F. Dolbeau, 'Deux opuscules latins, relatifs aux personnages de la Bible et antérieurs à Isidore de Séville', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 16 (1986), 83–139; idem, 'Nouvelles recherches sur le *De ortu et obitu prophetarum et apostolorum*', *Augustinianum* 34 (1994), 91–107; idem, 'Une liste ancienne d'apôtres et de disciples, traduite du grec par Moïse de Bergame', *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986), 299–314; idem, 'Une liste latine de disciples et d'apôtres, traduite sur la recension grecque du Pseudo-Dorothée', *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990), 51–70; idem, 'Une liste latine d'apôtres et de disciples, compilée en Italie du Nord', *Analecta Bollandiana* 116 (1998), 5–24; and idem, 'Listes latines d'apôtres et de disciples, traduites du grec', *Apocrypha* 3 (1992), 259–278. With many thanks to François Dolbeau, who drew my attention to this particular line of transmission of information on the apostles.

[61] In later traditions, the number became 72; see B.M. Metzger, 'Seventy or seventy-two disciples', *New Testament studies* 5 (1958–1959), 299–306.

[62] Dolbeau, 'Listes d'apôtres et de disciples', in ÉAC 2, p. 462. A second reason for

A model for these lists was found in the lists of Old Testament prophets, of Jewish origin but eagerly copied by Christians in the first four centuries and often transmitted in combination with the lists of apostles and disciples.[63] While the oldest versions of the Christian lists, composed in Greek or Syriac, were transmitted anonymously, others were attributed to Christians of repute: Irenaeus of Lyons, Eusebius of Caesarea, Hippolyte, and others. Many of them were translated into Latin, Old Irish, and numerous eastern languages. The lists generally contain short biographical notes concerning the name, surname, or nickname, the origin and the mission area of the apostle, the nature of his martyrdom, and the place of his death and burial. In most lists, Judas Iskarioth has already been replaced by Matthias, and often the apostle Paul as well as the evangelists Mark and Luke are added.[64] Although separate lists of apostles occur in the manuscripts, they are generally transmitted as diptychs together with a list of disciples, and in some cases the 'Lives of the prophets' are added as well.[65]

The most important and well-known Latin lists of apostles are the *Breviarium apostolorum* and the *De ortu et obitu patrum* attributed to Isidore of Seville,[66] both of which are examined in the case studies of this book. These early Latin renditions are clearly composed after Greek models,[67] but their relationship with the Greek examples is difficult to study because the Latin manuscript are, in general, older than the material transmission of the Greek originals.[68] The *Breviarium apostolorum* is transmitted in a number of manuscripts of diverse character such as sacramentaries and early martyrologies (see below), some of which go back to the 8th century.[69] It is also transmitted as an introduction to the

---

the existence of these lists is, according to Dolbeau, the desire to return to the origins of Christianity and to 'consecrate space' ('sacraliser l'espace') in a period that witnessed the development of pilgrimage. Ibid., p. 455.

63 Dolbeau, 'Listes d'apôtres et de disciples', in ÉAC 2, p. 456.

64 Ibid., pp. 456–457.

65 See on the relation between the Lives of the prophets and the lists of apostles and disciples Dolbeau, 'Listes d'apôtres et de disciples', in ÉAC 2, p. 456.

66 Dolbeau, 'Listes d'apôtres et de disciples', in ÉAC 2, p. 461; idem, 'Listes latines d'apôtres', pp. 261–262. In this 1992 publication, Dolbeau deals with another eight lists of apostles, with a more confined dissemination in the West.

67 On the relation between these two sources and their transmission, see Dolbeau, 'Deux opuscules latins', p. 111.

68 Dolbeau, 'Listes d'apôtres et de disciples', in ÉAC 2, pp. 461–462.

69 *Sacramentarium Gellonense*; *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*; B. De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium apostolorum* (BHL 652). Tradition manuscrite et oeuvres apparentées', *Analecta Bollandiana* 81 (1963), 89–116, at 92–94.

Martyrologium Hieronymianum.[70] De Gaiffier presumes, and his assumption is generally accepted, that the text of the *Breviarium* was composed around AD 600.[71] The lack of a complete summary of the life and acts of all 12 apostles in the work of Gregory of Tours might imply that the *Breviarium* was not known to this important western hagiographer, or even that the work was composed only after Gregory's death. The treatise *De ortu et obitu patrum* is generally attributed to Isidore of Seville. There has been much discussion on the authenticity of this work, but most scholars nowadays agree on Isidorian authorship.[72]

Martyrologies

The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* is the oldest Latin martyrology, where the list of commemoration-days of martyrs and saints is accompanied by short summaries of their lives and deaths.[73] The originally Italian compilation of various calendars (stemming from Rome, North Africa, and eastern sources) dates to the mid-5th century and was adapted and completed in Auxerre in the second half of the 6th century. The oldest

---

70 De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium*', pp. 93–94.

71 De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium*', pp. 113–115; cfr M. Van Esbroeck, 'La naissance du culte de saint Barthélémy en Arménie', *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 17 (1983), 171–195, at 172. See also Dolbeau, 'Deux opuscules latins', p. 111. Dolbeau states that the dating of the *Breviarium* to the end of the 6th century has few 'raisons valables'.

72 See C. Chaparro Gómez's introduction to the edition, *De ortu et obitu patrum* (Paris, 1985), esp. pp. 4–35, where he mainly follows Bernhard Bischoff and Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (for bibliographical references, see ibid., p. 5, footnote 3). De Gaiffier distinguishes two recensions of the text (De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium*', p. 104*s*.), but this view is now outmoded. See more recent work by J. Carracedo Fraga (ed.), *Liber de ortu et obitu patriarcharum [et apostolorum]* (Turnhout, 1996 = CCSL 108E); and F. Dolbeau, 'Comment travaillait un compilateur de la fin du VIIIe siècle: la genèse du *De ortu et obitu patriarcharum* du Pseudo-Isidore', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 56 (1998), 105–126. See also Dolbeau, 'Deux opuscules latins', pp. 105–108 and 111–112.

73 H. Delehaye and H. Quentin (eds.), *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (Brussels, 1931 = AASS Novembris 2.2). For an introduction to the genre, see J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin* (Turnhout, 1978 = Typologie des sources 26), pp. 13–17; idem, *Martyrologes: d'Usuard au Martyrologe romain. Articles réédités pour son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Abbeville, 1990); and see also the illuminating article on the value of martyrologies as cultural-historical sources by J.M. McCulloh, 'Historical martyrologies in the Benedictine cultural tradition', in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine culture, 750–1050* (Louvain, 1983), pp. 114–131. A comparative study of the treatment of the apostles in Latin martyrologies of the medieval and modern period is given by P. Beitia, 'La figure des apôtres dans les martyrologes latins', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 107 (2006), 395–418.

manuscripts date to the mid-8th century.[74] Other martyrologies that will be discussed in the following chapters are the *Martyrology of Bede* and the 9th-century martyrologies of Florus, Ado, Usuard, and Hrabanus Maurus. This selection is made because these martyrologies contain the most important material of this kind and served as influential examples for the later and even post-medieval period. They will be further introduced in the following case studies, particularly chapter 2 on Bartholomew.

3.4. *Hymns*

The number of medieval Latin hymns is enormous. Clearly, the late 19th and early 20th-century collection *Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi* (hereafter AH), comprising almost 30,000 entries, does not even cover the entire treasure. One of the greatest challenges when studying medieval Latin hymns is to assign a proper date and place of origin, let alone the name of an author, to a certain text. Hymns had a wide distribution, and it is not always possible to trace their origins. Moreover, it is difficult to acquire a reliable edition of pieces of this enormous repertoire. The AH must be used with caution, given the occurrence of many insufficiencies and even more deliberate adaptations, though unaccounted for, in the medieval text.[75]

The ecclesiastical hymn actually originated in the 3rd and 4th centuries, when (primarily outside Rome) it became customary to use not only biblical texts for liturgical songs. Next to biblical *cantica* (such as Lk 1:46–55; Lk 1:68–79), the hymn came into being as 'the spiritual poetry of the liturgy not based on biblical sources'.[76] Gradually the scope of subject matter became wider: while Augustine stressed the definition of the hymn as a song of praise to God,[77] the fourth Council of Toledo (633) was less strict with respect to the *psalmi idiotici* and decided that they could also have the praise of apostles and martyrs as their subject.[78]

---

[74] Dubois, *Martyrologes du moyen âge*, pp. 29–33.

[75] S. Boynton, 'Recent research on Latin hymns', in *Plainsong and medieval music* 3 (1996), 103–112, esp. p. 110 footnote 13.

[76] K. Schlager, 'Hymnus III: Mittelalter', in MGG *Sachteil* 4, cols. 479–490, esp. 480.

[77] Augustine, *Enarratio in ps.* 72, 1: … *si sit laus et non est Dei, non est hymnus*, in E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont (eds.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in psalmos* (Turnhout, 1956 = CCSL 38–40), vol. 39, p. 986.

[78] According to Schlager, 'Hymnus Mittelalter', col. 479.

Hymns were sung during the liturgy of mass, but they found their place most conspicuously in the liturgy of the hours. The hymn received its fixed place in the order of the office hours already in the Rule of Benedict of Nursia, according to which hymns were to be sung during each of the hours of the liturgical day, though the exact place in the office differs per liturgical tradition.[79]

Scholars of the medieval hymn tend to distinguish among various hymn collections. First they indicate the hymn material from the late antique and early medieval period, which they reconstructed under the title 'Old Hymnal'. This repertory contains material from early Milanese sources, Bede's *De arte metrica*, and the monastic Rules of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles and Benedict of Nursia (together some 16 hymns).[80] Next to this collection there is the so-called Frankish Hymnal, preserved in six 8th-century manuscripts from northern France and southern Germany and containing between 20 and 26 hymns.[81] In this period, the Old Spanish liturgy had its own hymnal,[82] examples of which will be discussed in all case studies. By the beginning of the 9th century, the hymn repertoire had expanded. The material to be discerned in this period was brought together in a repertory called New Hymnal.[83] The repertoire grew steadily during the 9th century and counted 100 hymns in 10th-century manuscripts, growing to between 200 and 300 in the 11th-century transmission. The collection that we now know as the New Hymnal found its origin most probably in northern France and is generally regarded as an element of the

---

79 *Regula Benedicti*, c. 11–18: J. Neufville and A. de Vogüé (eds.), *La Règle de saint Benoît* (Paris, 1971–1972 = SChr 181–186), vol. 182, pp. 514–534. See further A. Martimort, 'La place des hymnes à l'Office dans les liturgies d'Occident', in C. Alzati and A. Majo (eds.), *Studi ambrosiani in onore di Mons. Pietro Borella* (Milan, 1982), pp. 138–153; and cfr Schlager, 'Hymnus Mittelalter', cols. 480–481.

80 The term 'Old Hymnal' is coined by H. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1968); and idem, 'Latin hymns in medieval England: future research', in B. Rowland (ed.), *Chaucer and Middle English Studies. Festschrift in honour of R.H. Robins* (London, 1974), pp. 407–424. The 'Old Hymnal' (5th–6th century) can be found in M. Lattke, *Hymnus. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der antiken Hymnologie* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1991) p. 331; the list of the 8th and 9th centuries can be found in Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, p. 24*s*. For the clearest description of the hymn repertory in the Middle Ages, see S. Boynton, 'Hymn: II Monophonic Latin hymn', in *The New Grove Dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd ed. (London, 2001), vol. 12, pp. 19–23, at 20.

81 Gneuss, 'Latin hymns in medieval England', pp. 407–424. See also Schlager, 'Hymnus Mittelalter', col. 483.

82 Schlager, 'Hymnus Mittelalter', col. 482.

83 Ibid., col. 483.

liturgy reforms performed by Louis the Pious and his liturgical advisor Benedict of Aniane.[84] Spain did not accept this New Hymnal before the 11th century, when liturgical reforms necessitated the introduction of new (song) books south of the Pyrenees.[85]

The early sources form, as it were, the starting capital of the treasure of medieval hymns. Later on in the Middle Ages, this collection was greatly enlarged. Several factors contributed to this expansion, such as the creation of new offices for the saints and the origin of new monastic orders in the 12th and 13th centuries.[86]

In the 19th century, various scholars contributed to the edition of hymns. Dreves, Blume, and Bannister are crucial in the field of collecting and editing, as their impressive *Analecta hymnica* testifies.[87] Chevalier added his *Repertorium hymnologicum*, whereas Josef Szövérffy, in the 20th century, was the first to write the history of the medieval hymn *in extenso*.[88]

3.5. *Latin apocryphal Acts of the apostles: the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias*

The search for apocryphal elements in the Latin liturgy of the apostles leads inevitably to one central source: the so-called Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, also indicated as the *Virtutes apostolorum*. Under this title, an anonymous collection of *vitae* and *passiones* of all 12 apostles in separate accounts for each apostle is understood, as it is found in manuscripts from the late 8th to the 13th century.[89] In some manuscripts, the final section, describing the acts and passion of the apostles Simon and Jude, is concluded by an epilogue attributing the preceding work to a certain Abdias, who is introduced as a disciple of Simon and

---

[84] Boynton, 'Hymn: Latin monophonic', p. 20. See also D.A. Bullough and A.L.H. Correa, 'Texts, chant and the chapel of Louis the Pious', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne's heir. New perspectives on the reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 489–508.

[85] Boynton, 'Research on Hymns', p. 105.

[86] Schlager, 'Hymnus Mittelalter', col. 483.

[87] In the present study, the AH, with all its drawbacks, serves as a main edition of the hymns under examination.

[88] Cfr M. Jenny and W. Lipphardt, 'Hymnologie', MGG *Sachteil* 4 (1996), cols. 459–464, at 460.

[89] A survey of the manuscripts is given by R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (Braunschweig, 1883–1890, repr. Amsterdam, 1976, 4 vols.), pp. 124–129. See also M. Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992) (hereafter CANT), pp. 158–159.

Jude and the first bishop of Babylon, appointed by the apostles themselves. This epilogue seems to be written originally as solely belonging to the account on Simon and Jude, but it was applied as an attribution to this legendary figure of the collection as a whole by one of its first editors, Wolfgang Lazius.[90] Since then, the collection has been entitled 'Collection of Pseudo-Abdias'. The collection is a mix of material that is also known from other collections or authors on the one hand, such as the different Latin versions of the struggle between Peter and Simon Magus (Pseudo-Marcellus, Linus, Hegesippus),[91] and texts that are solely known from 'Pseudo-Abdias' on the other. Various arguments have been put forward to date the collection to the end of the 6th century.[92] One of them is the lack of reference to the translation of Bartholomew's relics to the South Italian island Lipari, known to Gregory of Tours[93] and therefore dated around 580.[94] A connection with this 6th-century bishop and historiographer is presupposed further because of the account on Andrew included in 'Pseudo-Abdias', which text is generally attributed to Gregory of Tours.[95] Despite these preliminary guesses, the identity of 'Pseudo-Abdias' and whether or not there is a link with Gregory remains still a matter of great uncertainty, which deserves more attention than it has been paid so far.

The most important problem concerning the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias is the existence of considerable differences between the various manuscripts in which the collection is transmitted. Different manuscripts compile different texts on the 12 apostles. Moreover, the selection of apostles is different for almost each manuscript. Some manuscripts give accounts for the 12, others add Marc or Luke or both, yet others also include Barnabas and Matthias. But there are other manuscripts in which only a selection of the 'Pseudo-Abdias-texts' is given. It seems,

---

[90] W. Lazius, *Abdiae Babyloniae episcopi et apostolorum discipuli de historia certaminis apostolici libri decem* (Basel, 1552). For a discussion of the other early modern editions, see I. Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity in the era of the Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden-Boston 2003), pp. 295–317.

[91] Cfr Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, pp. 134–135.

[92] Ibid., pp. 165–169.

[93] Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, c. 34: B. Krusch (ed.), MGH SRM I (Hanover, 1885), pp. 484–561, at 509.

[94] See further chapter 2.

[95] Cfr Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, pp. 135–138; p. 165*s*. Others question this link: K. Zelzer, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten* (Berlin, 1977), pp. xxix–xxx; and idem, 'Zur Frage des Autors der *Miracula beati Andreae apostoli* und zur Sprache des Gregor von Tours', *Grazer Beiträge* 6 (1977), 217–241.

therefore, hardly possible to consider the collection as a composition by one author—if we can speak of a collection at all.[96]

The available printed editions do not make the study of this material easier. The first editions saw the light in the early 16th century, and the most recent one is by Johann Fabricius, produced in 1703 and reprinted in 1719.[97] These early modern editions are problematic in use, not only because they are based on a narrow selection of manuscripts (which exactly is often unknown to the reader) but also because the editor often took considerable liberties in adapting his texts to his own conveniences and the demands of his time without rendering account of these changes in the product itself. For the present study, however, I made use of the edition by Fabricius (1703 / 1719) in combination with a recent French translation based on four manuscripts.[98]

---

96 Cfr Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, pp. 149–153.

97 F. Nausea (ed.), *Anonymi Philalethi Eusebiani in vitas, miracula, passiones apostolorum rhapsodiae* (Cologne, 1531); J.A. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1703 / 1719). See further footnote 90 above.

98 D. Alibert e.a. (trans.), 'Actes latins des apôtres (collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias)', in ÉAC 2, pp. 735–864. Given the present state of study, the so-called Collection of Pseudo-Abdias is in dire need of a renewed consideration. This work is now undertaken by a group of Utrecht researchers under supervision of the present author and in collaboration with the international association of apocryphal studies, AELAC. Results of this project, comprising a new edition and an investigation of production, dissemination, use and reception of the Latin apostle apocrypha in textual and pictorial form, will be published in *Corpus christianorum, series apocryphorum* (Turnhout).

CHAPTER ONE

THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS AND LITURGICAL COMMEMORATION

1. *The apocryphal Acts of the apostles: rejected or rooted?*

The relation between apocrypha and the liturgical cult of saints is a matter that attracted the attention of one of the most famous collectors of hagiographic material of the modern era. It was in the early 17th century that the Dutch priest Héribert Rosweyde uttered his surprise at the many apocryphal stories he was confronted with in the daily practice of reading the lives of the saints in the liturgy of the hours. His amazement at the liturgical use of these stories, 'the orthodoxy of which might often well be questioned', became the main incentive to start the collection and edition of saints' legends for the cycle of the liturgical year that became well known as the *Acta Sanctorum*.[1]

From the early Christian centuries onwards and throughout the medieval period, the approach to extra-biblical, or apocryphal, traditions on biblical saints in relation to the cult of these saints in practices of public worship, or liturgy, has by no means been straightforward or unequivocal. Concentrating on the case of the apostles, we find sharp denunciation of extra-canonical writings on the Twelve, particularly in a liturgical setting, side by side with a keen reception of these apocryphal traditions in many aspects of veneration of the apostles, be it in pictorial or textual expression. In the words of Averil Cameron, '[o]fficially recognized or not, it was this body of material [*sc.* the apocryphal Acts and Gospels] on which later generations of preachers dwelt so often and so lovingly'.[2]

---

[1] Cfr H. Delehaye, *À travers trois siècles: l'oeuvre des Bollandistes (1615–1915)* (Brussels, 1920 = Subsidia hagiographica 13A), pp. 7–8. Various other articles and studies have been written on the Bollandist *lieu de mémoire*, among which P. Peeters, *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes* (Brussels, 1942); and D. Knowles, 'The Bollandists', in idem, *Great historical enterprises. Problems in monastic history* (London, 1963), pp. 3–32.

[2] A. Cameron, *Christianity and the rhetoric of empire* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1991), p. 98.

But not only the historical testimonies on the reception and use of apocryphal traditions in the liturgical practice of the early Christian and medieval period are multicoloured. Modern scholarship concerned with the relation between apocrypha and liturgy is entangled in a set of questions, which have to be cautiously unravelled in order to come to a balanced view of the matter. When Rosweyde raised his eyebrows over the occurrence of apocryphal material in the liturgy of his daily practice, he did so from the perspective of his time.[3] The early 17th century had lived through the decades of reform in both the Catholic and the young reformed churches and had witnessed a renewed interest in the study of the Bible and ecclesiastical writings. In the field of liturgy, the Roman Catholic church had just introduced the reformed Roman Missal of Trent. Needless to say, Rosweyde's perception of apocrypha and liturgy was not necessarily the same as a medieval one. When studying the medieval reception of apocrypha, it is important to discern the influence of contemporary definitions of and approaches to these matters. Modern approaches to apocrypha and hagiography, liturgy and related themes, must be understood in order to answer the question raised in this book: the relation between apocrypha and liturgy in the medieval West. In the following introductory sections, both medieval and modern voices are heard, and it will become clear that they need to be heard in stereo.

When we consider the use of apocryphal traditions in forms of public worship of the church, attention is easily drawn to prescriptive sources of the early Christian and early medieval period that give evidence of a tendency to handle extra-canonical writings with caution.[4] Various apocryphal writings are mentioned in this context, among which are the *Acta* of individual apostles, composed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries and disseminated in different parts of the Christian world but not received as part of the Bible. The association of these apocryphal Acts with heretical persons or groups, such as the Manichaeans, or the Priscillianists in Spain, explains the endeavours from the side of ecclesiastical authorities to keep them away from the Christian community as far as possible. In the western church, particularly strict regulation was

[3] On the study of the Bible, patristic literature, and apocrypha in the early modern period, see Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity*; and J. Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: translation, scholarship, culture* (Princeton, 2005), esp. pp. 31–53.

[4] Eusebius of Caesarea seems to be the first to adopt this repudiative attitude. F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1 (Paris, 1997), p. xxii.

valid for public worship, where the apocryphal Acts of the apostles were not meant to gain access as reading material. Early Latin witnesses of such firm dismissal are letters from the 5th-century bishops of Rome Innocent I (401–417) and Leo I (440–461).[5] These documents list the 27 books of the New Testament and proclaim that all other books written under the name of the apostles should be repudiated. According to Leo, these apocryphal writings were, under the appearance of piety, 'a breeding ground of many falsehoods (. . .), never without venom'.[6] Leo therefore explicitly ordered that clergy should see to it that these books were never used in any practice of reading, neither at home nor in church.

The repetitive repudiation of apocryphal writings was confirmed by a list of recommended and forbidden texts in the influential *Decretum Gelasianum*.[7] This document consists of five parts: part two enumerates the books of the biblical canon (OT and NT), and part five lists a number of apocryphal writings.[8] The origins of the *Decretum Gelasianum*, a source of composite character, are still a matter of debate. Traditional scholars used to interpret the document as a Roman decree, but more recent research takes into account the Gallic roots of this source.[9] The attribution of the *Decretum* to Pope Gelasius I (492–496) can be

---

[5] Innocentius I: *Epistola* VI.7, in H. Wurm (ed.), 'Decretales selectae ex antiquissimis Romanorum Pontificum epistulis decretalibus', *Apollinaris* 12 (1939), 74–78, at 77–78. Cfr J.-M. Prieur (ed.), *Acta Andreae. Praefatio—commentariis* (Turnhout, 1989 = CCSA 5), p. 111*s*; É. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli, *L'histoire des actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean* (Geneva-Lausanne-Neuchâtel, 1982 = Cahiers de la *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 7), p. 94*s*. Leo Magnus, *Epistola* 15.15, in PL 54, col. 688. Cfr Junod and Kaestli, *L'histoire des actes apocryphes*, pp. 97–98. For a further discussion, see section 3 of this chapter.

[6] See section 3, footnote 108 below.

[7] *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, in E. von Dobschütz (ed.), *Das* Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis *in kritischem Text herausgegeben und untersucht* (Leipzig, 1912 = Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 38.4).

[8] Junod and Kaestli, *L'histoire des actes apocryphes*, pp. 102–103.

[9] On the date and place of origin of the document, see S. Döpp and W. Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i.B., 1998), p. 160, who suggest an origin of parts of the *Decretum* in Gaul in the late 5th or early 6th century. Rosamond McKitterick assumes a later date of origin, around 700. R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 202–204. Yitzhak Hen situates the treatise *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* explicitly in the Merovingian 'preoccupation with authority, orthodoxy and correctness', also expressed in other textual compilations such as canon law collections and guidebooks on *viros illustres*. Y. Hen, *The royal patronage of liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001), p. 30.

traced back to the 7th century.[10] Despite the fact that date and place of origin of the *Decretum Gelasianum* are difficult to determine, this source is of central importance to contemporary scholarship concerning the biblical canon. But even more important is the exceptional fame of the document in medieval times, which might not in the least be caused by its connection to the great reform-pope, Gelasius I. However this may be, the 'list of recommended and forbidden texts' was widely received in the Middle Ages and incorporated into the work of many medieval authors, such as the 12th-century theologians Hugh of Saint Victor and Abelard.[11] A large number of manuscripts had already been transmitted in the 8th and 9th centuries.[12] An important source of reception for this early medieval period are the *Libri Carolini*, a document once attributed to Alcuin but now regarded as written by Theodulf of Orléans,[13] in which a reaction is formulated to the Council of Nicaea (787). The most famous passage of the *Libri Carolini* referring to the *Decretum Gelasianum* is c. IV.10, where the Letter of Christ to Abgar is dicussed.[14]

The clear-cut statements of the prescriptive sources such as the letters of Innocent and Leo and the *Decretum Gelasianum* are, however, modified by the evidence provided by traditions of public worship themselves. Various liturgical narratives of the Latin Middle Ages make

---

[10] Döpp and Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, p. 160.

[11] See below, sections 3.3 and 3.4 respectively.

[12] McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, pp. 202–203; cfr A. Masser, *Bibel, Apokrypha und Legenden. Geburt und Kindheit Jesu in der religiösen Epik des deutschen Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1969), p. 21; and H. Mordek, 'Decretum Gelasianum', in LMA III, cols. 624–625.

[13] A. Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', *Speculum* 32 (1957), 663–705; ead., 'Further studies in the *Libri Carolini*', *Speculum* 40 (1965), 203–289; ead., 'Further studies in the *Libri Carolini*', *Speculum* 46 (1971), 597–612; ead., 'Carolingian orthodoxy and the fate of the Libri Carolini', *Viator* 16 (1985), 65–108. See further P. Meyvaert, 'The authorship of the "Libri Carolini". Observations prompted by a recent book', *Revue Bénédictine* 89 (1979), 29–57. Meyvaert reacts to L. Wallach, *Diplomatic studies in Latin and Greek documents from the Carolingian Age* (Ithaca and London, 1977). I refer to the edition by A. Freeman (ed.), *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)* (Hanover, 1998 = MGH Concilia II, suppl. I). In the work, the OT prophets, the apostles and the *patres* are emphatically presented as the leading authorities in the formation of contemporary doctrine. In this line, the *Decretum Gelasianum* is mentioned in c. I.6, II.13, and *passim*.

[14] *Libri Carolini*, IV.10. MGH Concilia II, suppl. 1, p. 511. See on the legend of Abgar H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Abgarsage', in W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. 6. Auflage der von Edgar Hennecke begründeten Sammlung*, 2 vols., 6th ed. (Tübingen, 1990–1997), vol. 1, pp. 389–395; A. Palmer, 'Actes de Thaddée', in ÉAC 2, pp. 643–660; A. Desreumaux, 'Doctrine de l'apôtre Addaï', in ÉAC I, pp. 1471–1525; idem, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (Turnhout, 1993).

abundantly clear that extra-biblical traditions were widely received in the liturgical cult of biblical saints. In the light of the medieval evidence, the opposition apocrypha–liturgy seems to be a false one. Liturgy might even be considered an important intermediary of the apocryphal traditions and may, in particular cases, be regarded as a crucial instrument in the development and 'canonization' of apocryphal traditions. This 'domesticating' function of liturgy to make the apocrypha *salonfähig* has been discussed by several contemporary authors.[15] The main question of the present study is not only *if* the apocrypha were used in the liturgy but also, at least equally important, *how* they were received and used in a liturgical context.

Yet the discussion of extra-biblical sources and their place in the context of the liturgy remained vivid throughout the Middle Ages. Various Latin authors of the medieval period retained a certain ambivalence in their attitude towards the apocrypha. A good example is master Notker I 'Balbulus' of Sankt Gallen (*c.* 840–912) who, in his treatise on the translators and scholars (*interpretes*) of the Bible, writes on the early Christian *vitae* and *passiones* of the apostles and martyrs. 'The church', he says, 'denies authority to the histories that are [written] about Andrew and John, but also to the passions of the other apostles'—yet some of the apostle apocrypha are, according to Notker, very near the truth, or even very true (*uerisimillimam seu certe ueracissimam*).[16] Later in the Middle Ages, the great collector of saints' legends

---

[15] Bovon and Geoltrain even claim that liturgy gave the apocryphal Acts of the apostles a 'second life', Bovon and Geoltrain, ÉAC 1, p. liii. On the rewriting and 'domestication' of apocryphal Acts of apostles see further Mara: 'Not to mortify curiosity but to avoid the dangers of heterodoxy, from the 4th century the apocryphal *Acts* were expurgated and rewritten so that they could be accepted and read by believers'. M.G. Mara, 'Apocrypha', in A. Di Berardino (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the early church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 56–58, at 57; K. Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten* (Berlin, 1977 = Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 122), pp. xxiii and xiii–xxii with respect to the Acts and Passion of Thomas; Bovon: 'Mais les moines ne purent les [*sc.* the apocryphal Acts] tolérer tels quels: les Actes apocryphes des apôtres furent refondus, domestiqués, purifiés avant d'être insérés dans les livres liturgiques, Ménologes en Orient, Vie des Saints en Occident'. F. Bovon, 'La vie des apôtres. Traditions bibliques et narrations apocryphes', in F. Bovon e.a. (eds.), *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 141–158, at 157; Bovon and Geoltrain, ÉAC 1, pp. xxvi, xxxii–xxxiii, xlviii–xlix, lii–liii. On rewriting hagiographical texts in general to adapt them for use in the liturgy, see M. Goullet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 208–209.

[16] Notker Balbulus, *De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum*, c. 10: *Historiis uero, quae sunt de Andrea et Iohanne, sed et passionibus reliquorum apostolorum auctoritatem derogat ecclesia. Quarum*

James of Voragine (1228–1298) still shows reserve towards apocryphal legends. He reflects carefully on the validity of parts of legends on, for instance, the apostles, which various ecclesiastical authorities have declared *apocryphus*.[17]

But what exactly is an *apocryphon*? In the following two sections, I shall consider this concept first from a contemporary perspective. It will become clear that definitions and approaches differ widely and, perhaps more importantly, that some modern scholars tend to theorize on the concept without paying too much attention to historical testimonies. In section three, therefore, a survey will be given of historical sources that express themselves on the subject. Given the impossibility of an exhaustive presentation within the scope of the present book, three periods of investigation are selected. From the late antique period, those authors are chosen who are frequently quoted by medieval scholars. Subsequently, a selection of medieval authors is consulted, with emphasis on the Carolingian period (8th to 10th century) and the 12th century.

In the discussion of the relation between apocrypha and liturgy, another category is at the forefront of our attention. If we want to know what medieval authors had to say about extra-canonical or apocryphal traditions on biblical persons, it is necessary also to look at their concept of and approach to literature on saints in general, or hagiography. How do apocrypha and hagiography relate to each other, and to the liturgical cult of saints? The study of the reception of apocrypha in medieval liturgical practices turns out to be a triangle, including liturgy, apocrypha, and hagiography, as will be clarified further below.

2. *Contemporary approaches to the phenomenon of apocrypha*

With the renewed interest in the Bible and its sources that characterized the age of the Humanists and the Reformation,[18] the apocrypha also got their share. On the one hand, a critical attitude towards

---

tamen passionum Bartholomei uerisimillimam seu certe ueracissimam noueris. PL 131, cols. 1001–1002. For a full discussion, see section 3.4 below.

[17] Cfr R. Gounelle, 'Sens et usage d'*apocryphus* dans la *Légende dorée*', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 189–210; and B. Fleith, 'Die *Legenda Aurea* und ihre dominikanischen Bruderlegendare. Aspekte der Quellenverhältnisse apokryphen Gedankenguts', *Apocrypha* 7 (1996), 167–191.

[18] Cfr A. Vanderjagt, '*Ad fontes!*—The early humanist concern for the *Hebraica*

extra-biblical traditions gained ground.[19] The Council of Trent (1545–1563) formulated anew strict principles on the content of the canonical Bible.[20] Other ecclesiastical authors, on the other hand, both in Protestant and Roman Catholic circles, considered the apocrypha worthy of a serious reading, either as spiritual traditions or even as historical sources.[21] In order to stimulate this reading, scholars started to study and edit the apocrypha. The first printed editions of apocryphal writings were published in the 16th century. In this pioneering work, names such as Jacques Lefèvre, Friedrich Nausea, Wolfgang Lazius and Johann Fabricius are important.[22]

Alongside this editing work, scholars tried to trace and describe the origin, nature and dissemination of Christian apocryphal literature from various perspectives. From the second half of the 19th century onwards, when the development of the historical-critical method founded a radically new approach to the study of Christianity's holy Scriptures, the analysis of apocrypha gained momentum, and this development has increased until the present age.[23] New editions appeared in the early tradition of the critical method, of which, in the context of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, the work by Richard Lipsius and Maximilian Bonnet is still valuable and in some respects irreplaceable.[24] In the course of the 19th and, increasingly, the 20th century, translations of the apocrypha in various modern languages were published,[25]

---

veritas', in M. Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. A history of its interpretation* (Göttingen, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 154–189.

[19] Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

[20] Ibid., pp. xviii–xix. Cfr B.M. Metzger, *An introduction to the apocrypha* (1957; New York, 1969), pp. 189–190.

[21] Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity*, p. 253.

[22] Notes on the history of study of the apocrypha in general are to be found in Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity*, esp. pp. 253–321; and Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 58–61. On the study of apocryphal Acts of the apostles, see G. Poupon, 'Les actes apocryphes des apôtres de Lefèvre à Fabricius', in Bovon e.a. (eds.), *Actes apocryphes des apôtres*, pp. 25–47; J.-D. Kaestli, 'Les principales orientations de la recherche sur les Actes apocryphes des apôtres', in Bovon e.a. (eds.), *Actes apocryphes des apôtres*, pp. 49–67; and Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity*, pp. 292–321.

[23] Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, p. 59; Mara, 'Apocrypha', pp. 57–58.

[24] R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (eds.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, 3 vols. (1891–1903; repr. Hildesheim, 1990).

[25] Concerning the translation of apocrypha in general, Schneemelcher lists the work done by Erbetta and Moraldi (Italian), Starowieyski (Polish), and Klijn (Dutch), as well as the earlier translation work by De Santos Otero (Spanish), Hennecke (German), and

and many studies and commentaries were written.[26] Discoveries of previously unknown apocryphal works, of which the collection of a set of texts known as the Nag Hammadi Library in Upper Egypt in 1945 can be regarded as the most spectacular, gave an important impetus to the study of apocrypha. Even now, apocryphal writings are being rediscovered that add to our knowledge of the diversity of early Christian traditions. The recently found and published (2006) *Gospel of Judas* is a clear example.[27]

2.1. *From 'New Testament apocrypha' to 'Christian apocryphal literature'*

The history of research in the field of apocrypha has long been dominated by a doctrinal perspective. Apocryphal books, indicated as Old or New Testament apocrypha respectively, were approached against the background of the canonical Bible and judged according to biblical standards. Study of the apocrypha from this perspective has often led to an evaluation of these writings as either 'corresponding to' or 'in contradiction to' biblical doctrine and the literary standard of the canonical Scriptures. A specific reading of the Christian apocryphal literature as an originally gnostic literature was propagated by Lipsius's work in the final decades of the 19th century.[28] The evaluation of apocrypha in comparison with a scriptural and orthodox standard has led in the past to a restricted view on the apocryphal literary traditions. A more recent approach, advocated and propagated mainly by the scholars assembled in the *Association pour les études de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne* (AELAC), tends to study the apocrypha as a class in its own right. This school of research searches for the apocrypha's proper qualities and characteristics, with respect to both content and literary design, rather than evaluating them in comparison with the books included in the biblical canon. In the following I shall pay attention to the basic assumptions and the implications of this more diversified approach, which turns out

---

M.R. James (English). Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 59–60; for the most recent translation enterprise, see the French volumes ÉAC 1 and 2 in the Pléiade series.

[26] The most influential commentary on the apocryphal Acts of the apostles is without doubt Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (see General Introduction, footnote 89).

[27] R. Kasser e.a. (eds.), *The Gospel of Judas* (Washington, DC, 2006).

[28] See footnote 26 and cfr Kaestli, 'Les principales orientations de la recherche', pp. 53–55.

to be particularly useful for a study of the development and reception of apocrypha in later periods.[29]

The most important objection to the designation of extra-canonical traditions as 'New Testament apocrypha' is the suggestion that the apocrypha form a 'shadow' New Testament, which implies the existence of a coherent set of apocryphal texts, forming as it were a counter-canon. The concept in fact goes back to the early 18th-century scholar Johann Fabricius.[30] Fabricius, in editing a collection of Christian apocryphal texts under the title *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (1703), was the first to compile a '*codex apocryphus*'.[31] In this idea of an apocryphal corpus he was followed by several later scholars until the 20th century: until the most recent edition of Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (1997), the term 'New Testament apocrypha' has been widely used to indicate those writings about (or attributed to) biblical persons and themes that were not accepted into the canonical New Testament.[32]

---

[29] Important documents reflecting the most recent discussion include Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 1–61; and Éric Junod's formulation of a critique on Schneemelcher's concept of 'Neutestamentliche Apokryphen' primarily in reaction to earlier editions of Hennecke-Schneemelcher in É. Junod, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens? Remarques sur la désignation d'un corpus et indications bibliographiques sur les instruments de travail récents', *Études théologiques et religieuses* 58 (1983), 409–421. This reaction is incorporated into and reacted to in Schneemelcher's sixth edition, to which Junod again responded in É. Junod, '"Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament": une appellation erronée et une collection artificielle. Discussion de la nouvelle définition proposée par W. Schneemelcher', *Apocrypha* 3 (1992), 17–46. A clear summary of the shift in approach from 'New Testament apocrypha' to 'Christian apocryphal literature' is given by J.-D. Kaestli, 'Les écrits apocryphes chrétiens. Pour une approche qui valorise leur diversité et leurs attaches bibliques', in J.-D. Kaestli and D. Marguerat (eds.), *Le mystère apocryphe* (Geneva, 1995), pp. 27–42. See also C. Herrenschmidt and F. Schmidt, 'Présentation', in J.-Cl. Picard, *Le continent apocryphe: essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne* (Turnhout, 1999 = Instrumenta patristica 36), pp. xi–xxxiii; F. Bovon, 'Vers une nouvelle édition de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne', *Augustinianum* 23 (1983), 373–378, esp. 376–378; Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, pp. xix–xx; S.C. Mimouni, 'Le concept d'apocryphité dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval. Réflexions en guise d'introduction', in S.C. Mimouni (ed.), *Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du livre en hommage à Pierre Geoltrain* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 1–21, esp. 9–11; and C. Markschies, '"Neutestamentliche Apokryphen": Bemerkungen zu Geschichte und Zukunft einer von Edgar Hennecke im Jahr 1904 begründeten Quellensammlung', *Apocrypha* 9 (1998), 97–132.

[30] Junod, '"Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', pp. 21–24; see also Kaestli, 'Écrits apocryphes chrétiens', p. 29.

[31] Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*. Cfr General Introduction, footnote 97.

[32] Edgar Hennecke published his *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* in 1904. Since then, the

In the last two to three decades, there was a shift in approach which can be described as a movement from 'apocrypha of the New Testament' to 'Christian apocryphal literature'. The introduction of the latter concept can be understood as an attempt to bring about a shift in understanding and definition of apocrypha, turning over a number of assumptions and presuppositions concerning this literature and its reception, function and appreciation.[33] The main lines of the new concept have been explicated most elaborately by Éric Junod in a number of places.[34]

Although Fabricius was right, according to Junod, to collect texts in the same literary genres as the books of the New Testament, he at the same time unintentionally stimulated the effect that the apocrypha were regarded as a 'negative' of the New Testament: the false, naive, phantasy version of the 'real' New Testament of canonical truth.[35] This negative view on the apocrypha, according to Junod, was further articulated by the work of the German editor of apocrypha Wilhelm Schneemelcher. Junod rejects Schneemelcher's definition of apocrypha as texts that are not admitted to the New Testament canon despite their pretension to be of the same value as the books of the canonical New Testament and their imitation of the literary genres of the New Testament (gospels, acts, epistles, apocalypses).[36] Junod instead claims that the Christian apocrypha do not form a stable, defined, and dated corpus, no more than they are confined to the literary genres or theological contents found in the New Testament.[37] In Junod's view, the definition of, or approach to, the apocrypha solely from the perspective of and in

---

work was reprinted three times. In 1987, Wilhelm Schneemelcher presented a fifth edition, which was reissued in 1997 (the edition used mainly in the present work).

[33] The approach developed by members of AELAC is presented by Tobias Nicklas as a 'profound paradigm shift' in the study of the apocryphal literature. T. Nicklas, '"*Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*": ein Sammelband als Spiegel eines weitreichenden Paradigmenwechsels in der Apokryphenforschung', *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007), 70–95.

[34] See footnote 29 above.

[35] Junod, '"Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', p. 23.

[36] Junod, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?', pp. 410–411; Kaestli, 'Écrits apocryphes chrétiens', p. 29. Junod reacts mainly to Schneemelcher's definition of apocrypha in the third edition of Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (Tübingen, 1959–1964), vol. 1, p. 6, and the revised definition in the fifth edition (Tübingen, 1987–1989), vol. 1, p. 52.

[37] Junod, '"Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', p. 37: 'L'apocryphe n'est pas un texte stable qui se fige dans un usage; il est un text mouvant qui ne cesse de se récrire (. . .). L'apocryphe appartient à une littérature incontrôlable. L'enfermer, c'est le dénaturer'.

comparison to the canonical New Testament is a limited approach and far from adequate as a model to analyse the literature under consideration. In Schneemelcher's definition, the apocrypha are limited chronologically to those works written within the period of the formation of the Christian canon (i.e. until the 4th century)—which excludes apocryphal texts conceived or rewritten in later ages in oriental and other languages—and generically to products of the literary genres used in the canonical New Testament.[38] Junod dismisses these assumptions and claims instead that the diversity of the apocryphal literature is given *a priori* by its history of origin in different areas of the Christian world and in various periods, but also by its history of transmission and reception.[39] By implication, and in contrast with Schneemelcher's definition, the concept 'Christian apocryphal literature' can, according to Junod, also include apocryphal writings on Old Testament persons or themes, yet conceived or rewritten and / or transmitted in Christian circles.[40]

With the introduction of the concept of 'Christian apocryphal literature', the traditional view on apocrypha as books that did not make it into the biblical canon is replaced by a new perspective, offering a far more spacious approach to apocrypha. The definition of apocrypha should not be based solely on their relation to the New Testament; instead, apocryphal literature should be understood very broadly as those texts which have preserved memorable traditions about biblical persons or themes, both from the Old and the New Testament.[41] This literature comprises texts of various genres, as well as of various geographical regions and chronological periods. The texts under consideration can be written in all kinds of languages.[42]

---

[38] Junod, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?', p. 414; idem, ' "Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', pp. 17, 39.

[39] É. Junod, 'Le mystère apocryphe ou les richesses cachées d'une littérature méconnue', in Kaestli and Marguerat (eds.), *Le mystère apocryphe*, pp. 9–25, at 15. Cfr Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, p. xxv. Precisely the fact that apocrypha were not enclosed like the biblical canon allowed them to develop in a more *ad hoc* fashion than the books of the New Testament canon. Ibid., pp. xxi, xxv–xxvi.

[40] Junod, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?', pp. 412 and 414; likewise Kaestli, 'Écrits apocryphes chrétiens', pp. 30–31.

[41] '. . . on ne peut plus définir les apocryphes chrétiens par leur seule relation au Nouveau Testament'. Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, pp. xix–xx. See also Kaestli, 'Écrits apocryphes chrétiens', p. 31: 'Parler de littérature apocryphe chrétienne est donc une manière de remettre en cause les frontières établies et d'élargir le champ des textes à étudier, dans l'espace et dans le temps'.

[42] Junod, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?', p. 412; idem, ' "Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', pp. 26–27.

Schneemelcher did not refrain from reacting to the discussion summarized above. In the sixth edition of *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (1990–1997), he reconsiders the definition of the concept as given in the third edition (1959).[43] Schneemelcher stresses the diversity of the New Testament apocrypha, which cannot be considered as a closed corpus, as mutually very different texts, all somehow related to the form or content of the New Testament.[44] But he dismisses the inclusion of what he calls Old Testament apocrypha in the concept of Christian apocryphal literature, as Junod proposes.[45] Moreover, Schneemelcher holds on to his chronological boundary, indicating the conclusion of the biblical canon in the 4th century as an important turning point in the history of apocrypha. According to Schneemelcher, apocryphal literature came to an end and was taken over, in the course of the 4th and in the 5th century, by hagiography.[46] Although Hennecke-Schneemelcher's sixth edition comprises later apocryphal texts, such as the Latin collection of apostle apocrypha known as the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, this does not imply that Schneemelcher stretched his initial chronological and linguistic constrictions. Rather, he included this later literature (which he considers hagiography) because of its importance to the understanding of New Testament apocrypha *stricto sensu*.[47] According to Schneemelcher, the maintenance of a distinct chronological delimitation is necessary to keep clear the boundaries between apocrypha and hagiographic literature, a boundary that, to Schneemelcher's opinion, becomes too vague in Junod's broader definition of apocrypha.[48]

Here we come across an important theme, namely the relation between apocrypha and hagiography. In the conceptual triangle of this book, hagiography forms the third side next to apocrypha and liturgy, as has already been indicated above. If we want to examine the connection between liturgy and apocrypha, the initial issue of this study, both the relation between liturgy and hagiography[49] and that between apoc-

[43] Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 49–52.
[44] Ibid., p. 8.
[45] Ibid., p. 51.
[46] Ibid., pp. 48–49.
[47] Ibid., p. 49.
[48] Ibid., pp. 50–51.
[49] I worked on this in relation to the Gallican liturgy and early medieval hagiography: Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (see General Introduction, footnote 15), esp. pp. 189–328; ead., 'Celebrating Saint Martin in early medieval Gaul', in P. Post e.a. (eds.), *Christian feast and festival. The dynamics of western liturgy and culture* (Louvain, 2001), pp. 267–286; ead., 'Hagiography as a liturgical act. Liturgical and hagiographic commemoration of

rypha and hagiography must be explored. Of these two, the relation between apocrypha and hagiography is the most difficult one. Because of its central importance to the present study, it will be discussed more fully in the following pages, before we turn to historical testimonies on the use of apocrypha in medieval religious culture.

2.2. *Apocrypha and hagiography*

When studying the reception of apocryphal traditions in the liturgy of the apostles in the medieval West, we are dealing with the transmission of primarily Latin traditions. As the case studies on six apostles in this book will make clear, the liturgical texts for mass and the daily hours are, to a great extent, based on early medieval Latin transmissions of apocryphal traditions, be it rewrites of ancient material or newly composed texts. In the case of some apostles, the Latin versions of the apocryphal Acts are very close to the original Greek Acts. The apostle Andrew is an important example, which I elaborated upon elsewhere.[50] The liturgy of this apostle, venerated in the West from an early date (i.e. at least from the arrival of his relics in southern Gaul around 400),[51] is strongly influenced by the Greek Acts of Andrew, dating to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, via the early Latin versions of these writings. In the case of other apostles, however, such as Matthew or Bartholomew, whose cults started to develop in the Latin world at a later stage or of whom no original Greek Acts are transmitted, the material that inspired the composers of liturgical texts stems from the Latin world. Among the early medieval Latin traditions of 'Acts of the apostles', the so-called Collection of Pseudo-Abdias is the most important source. The collection, already presented in the General

the saints in the early Middle Ages', in M. Barnard e.a. (eds.), *A cloud of witnesses. Saints and role models in Christian liturgy* (Louvain, 2005), pp. 161–183; and ead., 'Liturgical commemoration of the saints in the *Missale Gothicum* (Vat.reg.lat. 317). New approaches to the liturgy of early medieval Gaul', *Vigiliae christianae* 58 (2004), 75–97. Mark the typing error in the dating of the *Missale Gothicum* in the latter article: 790–810 should be 690–710 (p. 77).

[50] E. Rose, 'Apocryphal traditions in medieval Latin liturgy. A new research project illustrated with the case of the apostle Andrew', *Apocrypha* 15 (2004), 115–138.

[51] Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 264; E. Ewig, 'Die Kathedralpatrozinien im römischen und im fränkischen Gallien', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 79 (1960), 1–61, at 30. The earliest translation of relics to the West took place in 357, when Andrew's bodily remains were transferred from Constantinople.

Introduction, was composed in order to add to the knowledge of the *virtutes* of the apostles, of whom, according to the anonymous collector, only the written accounts of their martyrdom were available to the Latin-speaking public.[52]

The dependence of the Latin liturgical texts commemorating the apostles on early medieval Latin transmissions of the ancient apocryphal Acts leads unavoidably to the question of the relation between apocrypha and hagiography—however schematic or even unhistorical this question might seem at first sight. The relation between these two 'genres' plays an important role in current studies on apocrypha,[53] and it must, therefore, not be passed over here. Moreover, the main question of the present book, i.e. the relation between apocrypha and the liturgy of the apostles in the medieval church, cannot be dealt with precisely if we do not include the concept 'hagiography'. For what exactly distinguishes the apostle stories by which the liturgical texts are nourished, such as the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, from mere hagiography, which was flourishing from the early medieval period and played such an important role in the liturgy of that age?

Modern scholarship turns out to be at odds in this discussion. In modern *claves* and repertories Latin apostle apocrypha are classified sometimes among hagiography and sometimes among apocrypha.[54] Thus Albert Siegmund, in his book on *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur*, has different chapters on 'Die apokryphen Lite-

---

[52] Cfr the preface to the account of Peter and Paul, the so-called *praefatio Licet plurima*: ... *illud etiam placuit, ut his virtutibus passionum historiae connectantur. Nam de multis apostolis nihil ad nos aliud praeter ipsorum passionum monumenta venerunt* ('It seemed fit that the stories of the passions were combined with these miracle stories. For of many apostles nothing is known to us apart from the written memories of their passions'), quoted according to É. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis* (Turnhout, 1983 = CCSA 1–2), vol. 2, p. 753, footnote 1. According to Besson, the preface functions as an introduction to the set of texts on all apostles, not only to the *Passio* of Peter and Paul, which it precedes. G. Besson, 'La collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias: un essai de définition à partir de l'étude des manuscrits', *Apocrypha* 11 (2000), 181–194, at 188–189 and 193. Although there is no explicit evidence for this supposition, the fact that the author of the preface admits that material on the martyrdom is not available for *all* apostles strengthens the belief that *Licet plurima* was written as a general introduction, not solely as a preface for the Passion of Peter and Paul.

[53] See the special issue of *Sanctorum. Rivista dell'associazione per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia* 4 (2007) dedicated to the theme.

[54] Cfr E. Rose, 'Pseudo-Abdias and the problem of apostle apocrypha in the Latin Middle Ages: a literary and liturgical perspective', *Sanctorum. Rivista dell'associazione per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia* 4 (2007), 7–24, at 18–19.

ratur'[55] and on 'hagiographische Literatur'.[56] In the first chapter, the ancient Acts of apostles are grouped (Acts of Andrew, John, Paul, Peter, Thomas).[57] In the chapter on hagiography, later literature on the apostles is found, such as a 10th-century text on the life of Bartholomew and the translation of his relics: the sermon *De vita et translatione in Liparim* by Theodorus Studita in the Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius.[58] Maurice Geerard, in contrast, does not make a distinction between apocryphal and hagiographic literature on apostles in his *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*. All Acts, Passions, *Martyria*, and *Virtutes* are listed under the chapter 'Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha'.[59] It is clear that for Geerard, the subject (biblical person) is decisive, rather than the time of origin or the actual character of the text.

The tendency to distinguish between apocrypha and hagiography has become visible in the preceding section, where Schneemelcher's opinion on a chronological transition from apocrypha to hagiography in the 4th and 5th centuries was presented. Schneemelcher depicts the relation between apocrypha and hagiography as a necessary transmission from the former to the latter, linked to the immense development of the cult of the saints and of ecclesiastical doctrine and liturgical practice in the 4th century.[60] Schneemelcher underlines the difference between the Christian literature of the first centuries, developed as a 'side current' of the biblical canon, and the hagiographic literature of the Byzantine and early medieval period, departing from a 'fundamental difference in historical viewpoint'.[61]

Junod disagrees with Schneemelcher's chronological approach to the transition from apocrypha to hagiography.[62] According to Junod, it is arbitrary to state that in the 4th century the creation of apocrypha came to an end and was replaced by hagiography. Junod departs from the conviction that the need to fill in the 'gaps' in the canon-

55 A. Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur* (Munich, 1949), pp. 33–40.

56 Ibid., pp. 195–277.

57 For a discussion of this selection of Latin transmissions of apocryphal Acts see ibid., pp. 36–40.

58 Ibid., p. 258.

59 CANT, pp. 101–186.

60 Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, p. 49.

61 Ibid., p. 51.

62 Junod, ' "Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', p. 36; idem, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?', p. 413; cfr Mimouni, 'Le concept d'apocryphité', p. 10.

ical Bible lasted until after the 4th century, and that by implication apocrypha continued to develop after this time. Even if these apocrypha were adapted to a 'hagiographic use', this does not make them hagiographic literature in themselves.[63] The difficulty of drawing a line between apocrypha and hagiography is formulated clearly by Junod, but he admits that a solution of the problem is not yet within reach.[64] Similarly, Christoph Markschies emphasizes the difficulty of making a sensible division or connection between apocrypha and hagiography. In his view, the line should be drawn very precisely, and distinctly for each genre of apocryphal literature and each period of origin. The apocryphal Acts of the apostles for instance, he states, are closely connected to the literature on saints.[65]

In line with Markschies, Bovon and Geoltrain as well emphasize the fact that the apocryphal literature on the apostles (as on the Virgin Mary and other New Testament figures) is closely connected to the development of hagiography.[66] The gradual development of apostles' cults in the late antique and early medieval church was an important incentive to create new texts on their lives, acts, and death (in most cases martyrdom). It is very likely that a large part of the Latin texts (rewritings of the ancient Acts or newly composed texts) was produced with a clear purpose: for use in the practice of public worship.[67] Thus the liturgical commemoration of biblical saints might even have stimulated the creation of narrative texts on which the composers of liturgical prayers, hymns, and chants could draw. In line with this development, François Bovon emphasizes the intermediate position of the extra-biblical literature on the apostles and other New Testament saints. Bovon, whose work in this context concentrates mainly on the protomartyr Stephen, discovered several extra-canonical texts dealing with the preaching, martyrdom, and early veneration of Stephen. The

---

[63] Junod, '"Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', p. 36. Further on, the importance of the 'use' of apocryphal and hagiographic literature will be discussed.

[64] Junod, '"Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', p. 27, referring to idem, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?', p. 412 and footnote 7: '... Cela dit, il faut bien avouer que les frontières entre la littérature apocryphe et la littérature hagiographique demeurent finalement assez floues'.

[65] Markschies, '"Neutestamentliche Apokryphen"', pp. 117–118.

[66] Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, p. xxxiii: 'Concernant les apôtres, mais aussi la vie de la Vierge, la littérature apocryphe chrétienne ne peut être étudiée sans rapport avec l'hagiographie'.

[67] Ibid., p. xxxvii, footnote 4. See also footnote 15.

composition of some of these texts is a close entwining of the canonical account in Acts 6–7 with additional, non-canonical material. Bovon concludes that the fusion of canonical and extra-canonical material has produced a kind of literature which acts as a 'middle category of texts that were useful for the soul'.[68] He describes the works belonging to this middle category as neither canonical nor rejected but as writings that were apparently regarded as 'useful' or 'profitable books',[69] belonging to the same category as hagiographical narratives and apocalyptic visions.[70] In the following section, this category of 'useful books' will turn out to be in harmony with some medieval authors who express themselves on the concept *apocryphus*.

A clear idea on the purpose of a certain text is important for the clarification of matters of genre. This point of view is advocated by Averil Cameron, who deals with apocrypha and hagiography in her book *Christianity and the rhetoric of empire*.[71] Cameron approaches the apocryphal Acts of the apostles from the perspective of narrative theory: 'Stories people want'. She distinguishes between two main kinds of Christian stories: *Lives* ('biographies of divine or holy persons') and *Acts* ('records of their doings, and often of their deaths').[72] Cameron's focus on the apocryphal Acts as stories sharpens the question of the intention of these texts. Stories are deployed as a mechanism by which the society at large and the lives of individuals can be regulated. Both saints' lives and the apocryphal Acts, in Cameron's view the forerunners of later hagiography,[73] are representatives of the narrative medium. Despite the traditionally negative evaluation of apocrypha and notwithstanding the fact that the enormous increase of hagiographic material from the 4th century onwards tends to hide the apocryphal literature as one of its main

---

68 F. Bovon, 'Beyond the Book of Acts: Stephen, the first Christian martyr, in traditions outside the New Testament canon of Scripture', *Perspectives in religious studies* 32 (2005), 93–107, at 93. Bovon proves that the word 'apocryphal' is not necessarily equal to 'rejected'. See also F. Bovon and B. Bouvier, 'Étienne le premier martyr: du livre canonique au récit apocryphe', in C. Breytenbach e.a. (eds.), *Die Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung. Festschrift Eckhard Plühmacher* (Leiden, etc., 2004), pp. 309–331, esp. 315–316. It must be noted that the equation apocryphal = rejected is not necessarily found in the medieval sources dealing with the concept *apocryphus*, to be discussed below.

69 Bovon, 'Beyond the Book of Acts', pp. 99, 102.

70 Ibid., p. 106.

71 Cameron, *Christianity and rhetoric*, pp. 89–119.

72 Ibid., p. 89.

73 Ibid., p. 118.

sources of inspiration,[74] it is clear that these 'fanciful narratives contributed, more than their critics would like to admit', to the Christian world view.[75] Apocrypha represent, according to Cameron, 'the real world of Christian belief'.[76] Since the apocryphal stories were accepted by their audience as transmitters of (eschatological) truth, they function as structure-maintaining narratives.[77]

Where Cameron writes on Christian hagiography, she accentuates the function of written *Lives* to provide 'guidelines for the construction of a Christian life, and the ascetic model (...) for the construction of a specifically Christian self'.[78] Departing from this definition, the question could well be asked, how far hagiography (*Lives*) and apocrypha (*Acts*, more specifically the Acts of the apostles) are created in order to achieve the same thing. Are the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, more specifically the later Latin Acts, meant to 'provide guidelines for the construction of a Christian life', be it communal or individual? Or are there other features of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles that make them still interesting to a later audience, such as the medieval Christian communities?

The reading of Averil Cameron's work indicates that the question concerning the purpose of a certain text, be it an apocryphon or a hagiographic work, is vital to the comprehension of this text. Traditional scholarship had a clear view on the purpose of apocryphal texts, and on apostle apocrypha in particular. A longheld conviction states that the apocryphal Acts of the apostles were invented to provide the faithful with additional information on Jesus's direct followers. Apocryphal literature served, according to this view, primarily as entertainment literature (*Unterhaltungsliteratur*) and, as such, was an expression of 'popular' Christianity.[79] A second function traditionally attributed to

[74] Ibid., p. 119.
[75] Ibid., pp. 97–98.
[76] Ibid., p. 100.
[77] Ibid., p. 93.
[78] Ibid., p. 57.
[79] Schneemelcher adds the element of curiosity about the life and acts of the apostles as *viri dei* as a reason for the creation of the apocryphal Acts: they are not biographies but *praxeis* and *periodoi*. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 2, p. 75. At the same time, Schneemelcher presents the apocryphal Acts of apostles as 'popular traditions' (ibid.). Junod rightly warns against defining the apocrypha as 'popular religion', by stressing the fact that every text of those days is written by an author belonging to a cultivated circle. Junod, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?', pp. 420–421.

apocryphal apostle literature is its educational purpose: apostle apocrypha as *Erbauungsliteratur*.[80]

Only recently has the apocryphal apostle literature been liberated from the confined and outmoded label of 'for education and enjoyment'[81] and been given a broader frame of interpretation. Apocryphal Acts of the apostles are by definition additions to or prolongations of the biblical canon: they continue where the biblical story ends, i.e. with Pentecost and the Acts of the apostles (mainly Peter and Paul and, more sketchily, the other apostles such as James the brother of the Lord). The apocryphal Acts set forth, as it were, the story of the first Christian mission and conversion of the world to Christianity, working from the *Divisio apostolorum* to the individual stories of the apostles spreading the gospel in the different regions of the world assigned to them.[82] The importance of this literature to an understanding of the beginnings of the Christian church and the identity of the first (local) Christian communities is indicated in recent studies, such as Bovon and Geoltrain's introduction to the collection of French translations of apocrypha.[83] Elsewhere as well, Bovon points to the apostle apocrypha as an expression of (a certain) Christian identity, or rather, *identities*, phrased in order to outline the proper religious character in answer both to

[80] This view is underlined by Bovon and Geoltrain, who stress the importance of apocrypha as educational literature. Apocrypha do not, they emphasize, in the first place fill the gaps left by the biblical canon nor are they primarily written to entertain. Apocryphal literature was written not to rewrite (salvation) history, but to connect the figures and events of biblical history to the time and questions of the writers' world, almost always related to theological (christological) and moral questions. Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, pp. xxxvi, xxxviii–xxxix. The same is stressed by Junod, '"Apocryphes du NT": une appellation erronée', p. 32. Kaestli thinks in a similar direction by describing the apocrypha as 'the Christian Midrash': Kaestli, 'Les écrits apocryphes chrétiens', pp. 38–42. See also Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 46–47; H. Urner, *Die außerbiblische Lesung im christlichen Gottesdienst. Ihre Vorgeschichte und Geschichte bis zur Zeit Augustins* (Göttingen, 1952), pp. 61–62.

[81] F. Rädle e.a., 'Apokryphen', in LMA I, cols. 759–770, at col. 759.

[82] On the tradition of the division of the apostles to all parts of the world see J.-D. Kaestli, 'Les scènes d'attribution des champs de mission et de départ de l'apôtre dans les Actes apocryphes', in Bovon e.a. (eds.), *Actes apocryphes des apôtres*, pp. 249–264; É. Junod, 'Origène, Eusèbe et la tradition sur la répartition des champs de mission des apôtres (HE III.1,1–3)', in Bovon e.a. (eds.), *Actes apocryphes des apôtres*, pp. 233–248; J. Hennig, 'Zum Anfang und Ende der liturgischen Tradition der *Divisio Apostolorum*', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 12 (1970), 302–311; and J. Leclercq, 'Sermon sur la *Divisio apostolorum* attribuable à Gottschalk de Limbourg', *Sacris erudiri* 7 (1955), 219–228.

[83] Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, p. xxxix.

external critique and assault and to internal discord:[84] 'Dis-moi donc quel est ton apôtre et je te dirai qui tu es'.[85] Bovon and Geoltrain indicate the importance of apocryphal Acts of apostles as literature on the first Christian mission and the beginnings of the history of the church, as well as an expression of the desire of local communities to have an apostle as their founder.[86]

The study of the incorporation of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles in medieval liturgical traditions makes abundantly clear that the need for an apostolic rock as the foundation of a local Christian community was not an exclusive feature of the early Christian centuries.[87] Apostolic origins were also sought by communities in various periods of the medieval epoch, and in a great variety of geographical regions, as will become clear in the following chapters.

Rather than lingering further upon modern definitions of and approaches to apocrypha, medieval sources will be drawn on in the next section, in order to explore what they reveal about medieval approaches to the phenomenon of apocrypha, their relation to hagiography, and their use in the liturgy of the time.

3. *Medieval approaches to the phenomenon of apocrypha*

While divergent opinions on the concept of apocrypha and its definitions by modern authors go back and forth in contemporary scholarship, it is less easy to find a suitable study of the uses and meanings of the concept in historical perspective. As Junod rightly observes, the lack of study of the ever-shifting meaning of the word *apocryphus* in church

---

[84] F. Bovon, 'La vie des apôtres. Traditions bibliques et narrations apocryphes', in Bovon e.a. (eds.), *Actes apocryphes des apôtres*, pp. 141–158, at 146–147: 'L'histoire du christianisme primitif est donc l'histoire de groupes différents' and 155: 'C'est la période où, sorti de l'ombre, le christianisme est critiqué, donc pris au sérieux'.

[85] Bovon, 'La vie des apôtres', p. 151.

[86] Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, p. xxxix, section called 'Conforter une "antique" autorité'. See also E. Norelli, 'La notion de "mémoire" nous aide-t-elle à mieux comprendre la formation du canon du NT?', in P. Alexander and J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), *The canon of Scripture in Jewish and Christian traditions* (Lausanne, 2007), pp. 169–206, esp. at pp. 179–180.

[87] Mark that Mara does not mention this in her listing of the purposes of apocrypha. Mara, 'Apocrypha', p. 57. The same goes for D. Marguerat, 'Pourquoi lire les apocryphes?', in Kaestli and Marguerat (eds.), *Le mystère apocryphe*, pp. 141–145, who does not mention the role of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles as foundation myths.

history is surprising.[88] Work on this matter should be done both for the early Christian and the medieval period in order to develop knowledge on historical reviews of the concept 'apocryphal'. The present section does not strive for exhaustiveness; the abundance of source material would justify the writing of a separate book on this matter alone. Rather, this section analyzes three periods in detail. Although the focus of this study is the medieval period, the use and evaluation of apocrypha in preceding centuries is of relevance as well, since many medieval authors were inspired by their patristic predecessors. Therefore, the present investigation starts with some remarks on the patristic discussion on the matter of apocrypha, then goes on to the Carolingian period (8th to 10th centuries) as one of the flourishing periods of medieval Bible exegesis, and ends in the 12th century. Authors of these periods will be scrutinized for their view on apocrypha, the Latin *passiones apostolorum*, as well as the relation between liturgy and apocrypha, though even here the abundance of material necessitates the restriction to a selection among the possible themes.

3.1. Apocryphus: *a variety of meanings*

The word *apocryphus* as used by Christian authors of the patristic period has at least three meanings.[89] In the first place, the original Greek meaning 'hidden' is maintained. In the period of the formation of the biblical canon, the word is also used to indicate those books that are not included in the Christian canon of the Bible. A third, more general, meaning is added when the word is used to indicate those writings that are not given any authority by the catholic church.[90]

---

[88] Junod, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens?', p. 409; cfr Mimouni, 'Le concept d'apocryphité', p. 17: 'L'histoire du mot ἀπόκρυφος depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à aujourd'hui reste à faire'.

[89] See for literature on the reception and evaluation of apocrypha in the patristic age Junod and Kaestli, *L'histoire des actes apocryphes* (Junod and Kaestli take the Acts of John as an example); Mimouni, 'Le concept d'apocryphité', pp. 9 and 15–17; Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 27–40; M. Starowieyski, 'Les apocryphes chez les écrivains du IVe siècle', *Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae* 6 (1978), 132–141; G. Bardy, 'Apokryphen', in RAC 1, cols. 516–520; Mara, 'Apocrypha', pp. 56–58; O. Wermelinger, 'Apocrypha', in C. Mayer (ed.), *Augustinus-Lexikon* (Basel, 1986–1994), vol. 1, cols. 385–391; J. Flamion, 'Les Actes apocryphes de Pierre', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 11 (1910), 223–256; and Urner, *Die außerbiblische Lesung*, esp. pp. 57–59 (although this book contains many speculations).

[90] Bardy, 'Apokryphen', cols. 519–520. See also Mara, 'Apocrypha', pp. 56–57.

Clearly the most influential author on the matter of apocrypha in the patristic age is Eusebius, who pays ample attention to it in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (hereafter HE).[91] In this work of the early 4th century,[92] the historiographer deals with writings on apocrypha of his predecessors, mainly Origen. In HE VI, Eusebius collects the sayings of this exegete on the biblical canon and resumes Origen's division into three categories of scriptures: those that are generally accepted, those that are false and belong to heretic movements, and those about which there is doubt (HE VI.25). In addition to his reference to Origen, Eusebius gives a list of the books of the New Testament canon (HE III.25).[93] Eusebius's qualifications functioned as a guideline in both the Greek and Latin church. An important impetus to the spread of Eusebius's HE, and therefore of his view on apocrypha, was the translation of it by Rufinus (*c*. 345–410/411) at the beginning of the 5th century.[94] This translation was widely received in the early medieval world, especially in circles of the Carolingian court. The importance of the text is reflected not only by the large number of manuscripts (43 copies dating to the period between the late 8th and 11th centuries) but also by the exceptional care and beauty with which these books were adorned. Moreover, the earliest manuscripts, dating to the late 8th and early 9th centuries, are from monastic centres that are closely linked to the royal court.[95]

Eusebius/Rufinus list the books that are considered apocryphal sometimes in a systematic way, but also spread through the work and therefore in varying contexts. It is clear that Rufinus does not follow Eusebius slavishly but, instead, adapts the description of the contents of the New Testament canon to the state of that matter in his time.[96] Still, as Rosamond McKitterick makes clear, Rufinus corresponds to Eusebius in the emphasis of matters. Their view on and definition of

[91] See the discussion in Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 23–25, and the corresponding translations at 35–39; see also Junod and Kaestli, *L'histoire des actes apocryphes*, pp. 9–12.

[92] Döpp and Geerlings date the redaction of the HE between 290 and 325: *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, p. 211.

[93] Cfr Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 23–24.

[94] M. Skeb, 'Rufin von Aquileia', in Döpp and Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, p. 536.

[95] R. McKitterick, *History and memory in the Carolingian world* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 239–241. McKitterick mentions various regions where copies were preserved: Chelles (the convent of Charlemagne's sister Gisela), Alemannia (Freising), north-east France, Loire region, Constance, northern Italy, Franconia, Rhaetia, St Amand, Lorsch.

[96] McKitterick, *History and memory*, pp. 230–231.

the canon of Scripture is similar, in that both Eusebius and Rufinus stress the importance of authoritative texts to the history of Christianity and its formation.[97] McKitterick underlines that the HE, paying so much attention to authoritative texts as instruments of the formation of Christianity, in itself became an authorized instrument of reform in the hands of the Carolingians.[98] In section 3.3 below, *Apocrypha and canonical authority*, I shall pay more attention to the most important exegetes of the Carolingian period and their approach to apocrypha, concentrating on the notion of the authority of texts.

But first the notion of apocrypha as false writings, linked to heresy, will be dealt with. As the most important translator of the Greek works of Origen in the late antique period, Rufinus was equally important for the dissemination of Origen's works in the Latin Middle Ages.[99] Origen's attitude as expressed in his warning against the use of extra-canonical writings is recognizable in the thought of later authors: even though wise men are urged to 'test everything; hold fast to what is good' (1 Thess. 5:21), they should not confuse the simple by providing them with literature in which *vera* and *falsa* are intertwined in a misleading way.[100] Later authors turned out to be less mild than Origen. They accentuated the 'many falsehoods' in apocryphal writings and rejected them sharply. In the following some examples will elucidate this.

3.2. *Apocrypha and heresy*

Among patristic authors, the problem of apocrypha is often dealt with in the context of heresies, especially when the apocryphal Acts of the apostles are concerned. These writings were often associated with deviant currents such as the Manichaeans[101] and the Priscillianists.[102] One of the earliest examples among Latin authors who makes this relation explicit is Philastrius of Brescia († 387 / 397), a fervent fighter

---

[97] Ibid., pp. 232–233, with reference to R. Markus, 'Church history and early church historians', in D. Baker (ed.), *The materials, sources and methods of ecclesiastical history* (Oxford, 1975 = Studies in church history 11), pp. 1–17, at 5.

[98] McKitterick, *History and memory*, pp. 240–242.

[99] Skeb, 'Rufin', p. 536.

[100] Origenes, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, c. 23,37, in R. Girod (ed.), *Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon Matthieu* (Paris, 1970 = SChr 162), p. 51. Cfr Bardy, 'Apokryphen', cols. 518–519.

[101] See Junod and Kaestli, *L'histoire des actes apocryphes*, pp. 49–86.

[102] Ibid., pp. 87–102.

against Arianism in Milan. Between 380 and 390, Philastrius wrote his *Diversarum hereseon liber*, in which he discusses a large number of heresies. In various chapters, Philastrius deals with the problem of apocrypha. In contrast to the Manichaeans and other deviant movements such as the Valentinians and the Nicolaites, orthodox Christians should not admit other books into their practice of reading apart from canonical Scripture as determined by the apostles and their successors. The 'secret scriptures, that is the apocrypha' (*Scripturae autem absconditae, id est apocryfa*) should be reserved for the *perfecti* only. Philastrius mentions as examples the *Acts of Andrew*, 'the acts that he accomplished when he came from Pontus in Greece', the *Acts of John* and the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, 'legends' that hold deviant ideas.[103]

The phenomenon of apocrypha is discussed in the context of heresy also in the so-called *Praedestinatus*, an anonymous history of heresies from the fourth decade of the 5th century.[104] In its discussion of 90 heresies, the subject of apocrypha arises in the context of Manichaeans (book 46) and Priscillianists (book 70). According to the *Praedestinatus*, the Manichaeans add to and delete from the New Testament Scriptures as they like, and even prefer some apocrypha to canonical Scripture.[105] Similarly, the Priscillianists are said to accept the apocrypha together with the canonical Scripture and to adapt the former's meaning by allegorizing.[106]

Two other important documents that relate the apostle apocrypha to heretical movements, already mentioned in the first section of this chapter, are the letters on what should and should not be read in

---

[103] Philastrius Brixiensis, *Diuersarum hereseon liber*, c. 88 (60): *Scripturae autem absconditae, id est apocryfa, etsi legi debent morum causa a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent, quia non intellegentes multa addiderunt et tulerunt quae uoluerunt heretici. Nam manichei apocryfa beati andreae apostoli, id est actus quos fecit ueniens de ponto in greciam quos conscripserunt tunc discipuli sequentes beatum apostolum, unde et habent manichei et alii tales andreae beati et iohannis actus euangelistae beati, et petri similiter beatissimi apostoli, et pauli pariter beati apostoli: in quibus quia signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut et pecudes et canes et bestiae loquerentur, etiam et animas hominum tales uelut canum et pecudum similes inputauerunt esse heretici perditi*. F. Heylen (ed.), *Filastrii episcopi Brixiensis Diversarum hereseon liber* (Turnhout, 1957 = CCSL 9), pp. 255–256.

[104] W. Geerlings, 'Praedestinatus', in Döpp and Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, p. 515.

[105] *Ipsiusque testamenti noui scripturas tamquam falsatas ita legunt ut quod uolunt inde accipiant, quod nolunt reiiciant, eisque tamquam totum uerum habentes nonnullas apocryphas anteponunt*. F. Gori (ed.), *Arnobii Iuniori Praedestinatus qui dicitur* (Turnhout, 2000 = CCSL 25B), p. 32.

[106] *Septuagesimam haeresim Priscillianorum apud Hispanos Priscillianus legitur inchoasse. (. . .) Apocryphas simul cum canonicis scripturis accipiunt, et in sensus suos allegorizando conuertunt*. Ibid., p. 43.

church by Popes Innocent I and Leo I. Innocent makes a sharp distinction between books that belong and those that do not belong to canonical Scripture. In a letter to bishop Exuperius of Toulouse, dating to the year 405, he lists the 27 books of the New Testament canon and adds that the books falsely attributed to the apostles Matthias, James the Less, Peter, John, Andrew, or Thomas, and any others, should be repudiated and condemned.[107] Forty years later, Pope Leo I emphasized the dangerous character of the apocryphal writings attributed to the apostles. Leo explicitly forbade the use of these writings, associated with the rejected adherents of Priscillian, in any practice of reading, either at home or in church:

> It is therefore necessary to see to it with priestly diligence that the false codices, which deviate from the truth, shall not be used in any practice of reading. The apocryphal writings—under the name of the apostles a breeding ground of many falsehoods—must not only be interdicted, but also entirely removed and burnt by fire. Although there are in these writings elements which seem to have an appearance of piety, they are, however, never without venom, and through the inducements of tales they cause—unnoticed, by telling miraculous stories—to entangle the seduced in the toils of error. Therefore a bishop who does not prohibit the apocrypha from being owned in the houses or who permits these books, corrupted by the false amendments of Priscillian, to be read in church under the name of canonical writings, knows that he will be condemned as an heretic, for he who does not call his neighbour from his error, is erring himself.[108]

Later in the Middle Ages, Leo's letter to the Spanish bishop Turibius of Astorga (dated 447) is referred to as an authority, for example in the

---

[107] Innocentius I, *Epistola* VI.7: *Cetera autem quae uel sub nomine Mathiae siue Iacobi minoris, uel sub nomine Petri et Iohannis, quae a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, [uel sub nomine Andreae, quae a Xenocaride et Leonida philosophis], uel sub nomine Thomae, et si qua sunt alia; non solum repudianda uerum etiam noueris esse damnanda.* Wurm (ed.), 'Decretales selectae', pp. 77–78. See also footnote 5.

[108] Leo Magnus, *Epistola* 15.15: *Curandum ergo est, et sacerdotali diligentia maxime providendum ut falsi codices, et a sincera veritate discordes, in nullo usu lectionis habeantur. Apocryphae autem scripturae, quae sub nominibus apostolorum multarum habent seminarium falsitatum, non solum interdicendae sed etiam penitus auferendae sunt, atque ignibus concremandae. Quamvis etiam sint in illis quaedam quae videantur speciem habere pietatis, numquam tamen vacua sunt venenis, et per fabularum illecebras hoc latenter operantur, ut mirabilium narratione seductos laqueis cujuscumque erroris involvant. Unde si quis episcoporum, vel apocrypha haberi per domos non prohibuerit, vel sub canonicorum nomine eos codices in ecclesia permiserit legi, qui Priscilliani adulterina sunt emendatione vitiati, haereticum se noverit judicandum: quoniam Qui alios ab errore non revocat, seipsum errare demonstrat.* PL 54, col. 688.

work of Florus of Lyons on the liturgical reforms of the 9th century, discussed in section 3.5 below.

Another important voice in the discussion of apocrypha in relation to heretical movements is Augustine, who was likewise echoed by many later generations.[109] Among the examples that can be found in Augustine's voluminous oeuvre, a letter to his fellow bishop Deuterius must be mentioned, in which Augustine deals with a parishioner who has turned to the Manichaeans. Augustine chooses similar phrasing to that in the *Praedestinatus* when he describes the Manichaeans' scorn of the patriarchs and prophets and their rejection of Moses's law as a product of the god of darkness.[110] A comparable letter to the Gallic or Spanish bishop Ceretius deals with a certain Argyrius who unknowingly fell into the hands of the Priscillianists. Ceretius has apparently sent some documents to Augustine, so that the latter can discern if they are of Priscillianist nature or belong to a different heresy. Augustine positively attributes these writings to the Priscillianists. One hymn in particular, which is assumed to be sung by Jesus after he finished the Supper with his disciples before his passion (Mt 26:30), is recognized by Augustine as apocryphal material.[111] This is not surprising, for, as Augustine argues elsewhere, the Priscillianists surpass the Manichaeans in delusion in their use of the apocrypha.[112]

In other works, Augustine deals more specifically with the matter of apocryphal writings attributed to the apostles and their relation to heretic currents. Thus, in his polemic works against the Manichaeans Felix and Faustus, he raises the subject of apocrypha several times.[113] In his work against Faustus, Augustine again refers to the use of apocrypha in Manichaean circles.[114] Repeatedly, Augustine refers explicitly to the

---

109 Wermelinger, 'Apocrypha', cols. 385–391.

110 Augustinus, *Epistula* 236, c. 2: *Patriarchas prophetasque blasphemant. Legem per famulem Dei Moysen datam non a uero deo dicunt sed a principe tenebrarum*. A. Goldbacher (ed.), *Aurelii Augustini Epistolae* IV (Vienna, 1911 = CSEL 57), p. 524.

111 Augustinus, *Epistula* 237, in Goldbacher (ed.), *Augustini Epistolae* IV, pp. 526–532. Augustine is not able to identify this text as part of the *Acts of John*: *Acta Iohannis*, c. 94–96 (Wermelinger, 'Apocrypha', col. 390).

112 Augustinus, *De haeresibus*, c. 70.2, in R. Van der Plaetse and C. Beukers (eds.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De haeresibus* (Turnhout, 1969 = CCSL 46), p. 334.

113 Augustinus, *Contra Felicem*, c. II.6, in J. Zycha (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Felicem* (Vienna, 1892 = CSEL 25.2), p. 833; *Contra Faustum* XI.2; XXII.79; XXIII.9, in J. Zycha (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Faustum* (Vienna, 1891 = CSEL 25.1), pp. 314–316; 681–682; 714–715. Cfr Wermelinger, 'Apocrypha', cols. 387–388.

114 Augustinus, *Contra Faustum* XXII.79, in Zycha (ed.), CSEL 25.1, pp. 681–682.

apocryphal Acts of the apostles, such as the *Acts of Thomas* in *Contra Faustum*, the Acts of Thomas and of Peter in *Contra Adimantum*,[115] and in general the Acts written by Leucius in *Contra Felicem*.[116] A certain Leucius, who was mentioned in Leo's letter as well, was known as the author of a Manichaean collection of Acts of the apostles, possibly dating to the end of the 3rd century.[117] In his work *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum*, Augustine reasons against an opponent of presumably Manichaean or Marcionite origin[118] about the pseudepigraphical Acts of Andrew and John, certainly not written by these apostles: 'For if these works were written by them, the church would have received them …'.[119]

3.3. *Apocrypha and canonical authority*

The disqualification of apostle apocrypha in the testimonies under discussion is not only linked to their use in heretic circles but also regularly reinforced by a comparison with those writings that are accepted by the church. In contrast with these latter writings, the apocrypha fall short in authority because their authors are unknown or dubious. This view on the matter is expressed in the work of, for instance, the famous patristic biblical scholar and translator Jerome. Jerome returns frequently to various apocrypha in his commentaries on parts of the Bible, often with a sharp judgement.

Jerome uses mainly two epithets to indicate the apocrypha, and they recur like mantras through his work. As space does not allow us to analyse every mention of apocrypha in Jerome's writings, I shall highlight some examples, concentrating on those remarks which were influential in the medieval period. Thus in his commentary on Isaiah, Jerome warns his reader, with reference to the accounts of the *Ascension*

[115] Augustinus, *Contra Adimantum*, c. 17, in J. Zycha (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Adimantum* (Vienna, 1891 = CSEL 25.1), pp. 166, 170.

[116] Augustinus, *Contra Felicem* II.6, in Zycha (ed.), CSEL 25.2, p. 833.

[117] On Leucius as author of (some of) the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, see Junod and Kaestli, *L'histoire des actes apocryphes*, pp. 137–143; and G. Röwekamp, 'Leucius', in Döpp and Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, p. 396.

[118] W. Geerlings, 'Augustinus', in Döpp and Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, pp. 65–85, at 77.

[119] Augustinus, *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum*, I.20.39: *Sane de apocryphis iste posuit testimonia, quae sub nominibus apostolorum Andreae Iohannisque conscripta sunt. Quae si illorum essent, recepta essent ab ecclesia*…. K.-D. Daur (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* (Turnhout, 1985 = CCSL 49), p. 70.

of Isaiah and the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, against the apocrypha as insidious literature, opposing these writings to the *authenticis libris*:

> Let therefore the absurdities of the apocrypha (*apocryphorum deliramenta*) be silent, that are on the occasion of this testimony forced upon the churches of Christ. For we can say about these texts that the devil insidiously resides in the apocrypha with his preciosities, in order to devour the innocent. And again: 'He lurks in secret like a lion in its covert; he lurks that he may seize the poor' (Ps. 9, 30; 10, 9 NRSV).[120]

Jerome plays here with the meaning of the word *apocryphus*, 'hidden', and deliberately changes the wording of the psalm according to the Vetus Latina, which gives *insidiatur in abscondito, quasi leo in spelunca sua, insidiatur ut rapiat pauperem*.

The expression *apocryphorum deliramenta* returns many times in Jerome's work. Examples are his commentary on the prophet Ezechiel, where Jerome dismisses the idea, expressed in 'many of the absurdities of the apocrypha', that Christ himself would have left written testimonies or books with his doctrine,[121] and the commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (12:47), where he uses his favourite expression in order to reject the idea found in the apocrypha that Christ had brothers through another wife of Joseph, called Escha or Estha.[122]

In the preface to the same commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Jerome firmly rejects the idea that there are any valid gospels outside the canonical Bible. Jerome takes ample space to explain why the canonical Bible contains four gospels, neither more nor less. First he enumerates some of the apocryphal gospels (such as the Gospel of the Egyptians; the Gospel of Thomas and of Matthias and Bartholomew; the Gospel of the Twelve apostles and of Basilides), and dismisses these writings as witnesses of the false prophets, mentioned by Jesus

---

[120] Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Esaiam*, c. XVII.64.4,5: *Unde apocryphorum deliramenta conticeant, quae ex occasione huius testimonii ingeruntur ecclesiis christi. De quibus uere dici potest, quod sedeat diabolus in insidiis cum diuitibus in apocryphis, ut interficiat innocentem. Et iterum: insidiatur in apocrypho quasi leo in spelunca sua; insidiatur, ut rapiat pauperem*. M. Adriaen (ed.), *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I–XVIII* (Turnhout, 1963 = CCSL 73 and 73A), vol. 73A, p. 735. Bible translations are according to the New Revised Standard Version, Anglicized edition, 1989 / 1995 (NRSV).

[121] Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem*, c. XIII.44.22,31: … *unde et saluator nullum uolumen doctrinae suae proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apocryphorum deliramenta confingunt, sed patris et suo spiritu cotidie loquitur in corde credentium*… F. Glorie (ed.), *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV* (Turnhout, 1964 = CCSL 75), pp. 668–669.

[122] Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Matheum*, c. 2, in D. Hurst (ed.), *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV* (Turnhout, 1969 = CCSL 77), p. 100.

according to John 10:8. For those who present themselves on their own accord instead of being sent by the Spirit (*missi*) are unreliable. These false prophets are opposed to the church (*ecclesia*), built on Peter the rock. The true gospels are written in the heart of the church, and they are four, just as there were four rivers in paradise (Gen. 2:10–14) and four golden rings on the corners of the Ark of the Covenant (Ex. 25:12). The prophet Ezechiel and John (in his Apocalypse) describe the four animals Jerome interprets as the four evangelists. On the basis of all this evidence, he dismisses any other gospel apart from these four:

> And through all these arguments it is shown clearly that only four gospels must be accepted, and that all the lullabies of the apocrypha (*apocryphorum nenias*) ought to be sung rather to dead heretics than to living ecclesiastics.[123]

Numerous examples could be added where Jerome warns against the use of the absurdities (*deliramenta*) and follies (*ineptiae*) of the apocrypha and the lullabies (*neniae*) they actually are; the knowledge of Christian doctrine and the guidelines for a Christian life are not found in them but in the recognized biblical books.[124]

Apart from telling absurdities and singing lullabies, the apocrypha are also dismissed by Jerome because they are not written by the known ecclesiastical authorities, as the canonical books of the Bible are. Therefore, the apocrypha cannot be considered to be authoritative texts,[125] and they are opposed to the canonical Bible, for instance in Jerome's preface to the Pentateuch in the Vulgate: '… and there are many ignoramuses who follow the absurdities of the apocrypha and even prefer these lullabies to the authentic books.'[126] They should be rejected, even though there might be something worth reading in them, as is expressed most poignantly in a letter to the lady Laeta on the Christian education of her daughter:

---

[123] Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Matheum*, praefatio: *Quibus cunctis perspicue ostenditur quattuor tantum debere euangelia suscipi et omnes apocriphorum nenias mortuis magis hereticis quam ecclesiasticis uiuis canendas*. Hurst (ed.), CCSL 77, p. 4.

[124] Cfr Hieronymus, *Commentarii in iv epistulas Paulinas; Ad Ephesios*, c. 3. PL 26, col. 568C (*olim* 660).

[125] Hieronymus, *Tractatus lix in psalmos*, ps. 132: *nos autem dicimus: non in auctoritatem, sed in commemorationem*. G. Morin (ed.), *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Tractatus sive homiliae in psalmos* (Turnhout, 1958 = CCSL 78), pp. 280–281.

[126] … *quod multi ignorantes apocriforum deliramenta sectantur et hiberas nenias libris authenticis praeferunt*. R. Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1969), vol. 1, p. 3.

> Let her beware of all the apocrypha and if ever she should wish to read them (not for the truth of their doctrines but out of respect for their miracles), let her know that they are not the work of those with whose names they are entitled, and in addition that many faulty things are interspersed in them and that it demands great care to seek out gold in mud.[127]

Jerome's rejection of the apocrypha as writings without authority, and particularly his imaginative phrasing, was readily received in the Middle Ages. An imitation of Jerome's attitude towards the apocrypha is found in a 9th-century commentary on Genesis. This work, which originates from the school of Auxerre, has for a long time been attributed to Remigius of Auxerre (*c.* 841–*c.* 908), but recently it is said to be composed by Haimo of Auxerre.[128] Haimo taught Heiric of Auxerre in the years 850 / 860,[129] and Heiric in his turn was Remigius's teacher.[130] Whatever the answer to the question of authorship may be, this *Expositio super Genesim* is preceded by a kind of vocabulary that explains some important concepts in the context of biblical commentary as found in Jerome's preface to the Pentateuch. In this vocabulary, the author deals with, among other things, Jerome's definition of and attitude towards apocrypha in the context of the Old Testament. First he explains what the Greek word means (*secretum*), then he defines apocrypha as 'those writings that have no authority whatsoever and should not be read in public'. The work resumes Jerome's famous *deliramenta apocrypha*, and its author defines the word *deliramenta* as *vanitates, vel insanias et ineptias*.[131]

---

[127] Hieronymus, *Epistulae* 107, c. 12–13: *Caueat omnia apocrypha et, si quando ea non ad dogmatum ueritatem, sed ad signorum reuerentiam legere uoluerit, sciat non eorum esse, quorum titulis praenotantur, multa que his admixta uitiosa et grandis esse prudentiae aurum in luto quaerere.* I. Hilberg (ed.), *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae* (Vienna, 1910 = CSEL 54–56), vol. 55, p. 303. With many thanks to Jan Ziolkowski for his alertness, and for providing the translation. Ziolkowski drew my attention to the quotation of these words by Abelard, to be discussed below.

[128] B. van der Name Edwards, 'In search of the authentic commentary on Genesis by Remigius of Auxerre', in D. Iogna-Prat (ed.), *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre: de Muretach à Rémi, 830–908* (Paris, 1991), pp. 399–412; idem (ed.), *Remigii Autissiodorensis Expositio super Genesim* (Turnhout, 1999 = CCCM 136), pp. ix–lv.

[129] B. Gansweidt, 'Haimo von Auxerre', in LMA IV, col. 1864.

[130] M. Baldzuhn, 'Remigius von Auxerre', *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 22 (2003), cols. 1146–1149 (http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/; consulted 26-06-2006).

[131] Haimo of Auxerre (?), *Expositio super Genesim*: *Multi ignorantes haec in Hebraica scripta non esse veritate, sectantur deliramenta apocryphorum. Apocryphon dicunt Graeci secretum. Inde apocryphi dicuntur libri qui nullam habent auctoritatem et non sunt in publico legendi. Inde apocrypharius, legatus secretorum. Deliramenta, id est, vanitates, vel insanias et ineptias*. PL 131, col. 53A.

Another Carolingian author who falls back on Jerome's definition of apocrypha is the famous theologian of Corbie, Paschasius Radbertus (*c.* 790–*c.* 859). In his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, with respect to ch. 12:47, Paschasius elaborates on the family of Jesus and repeats Jerome's rejection of the idea that Joseph had another wife with whom he had sons, brothers of Christ.[132] Elsewhere in the same commentary, in the context of Jesus's prediction of the coming of false prophets (Mt 24:23–28), Paschasius again uses firm Hieronymian language in his rejection of the apocrypha which have no authority whatsoever and which are to be considered 'dubious, false, fabulous and mendacious'.[133]

Likewise, a 12th-century imitator of Jerome in his rejection of apocrypha must be discussed here: Peter Abelard. In the prologue to his magnum opus *Sic et non*, Abelard declares that in many cases the names of well-known saints are linked to the apocrypha, so as to grant them authority. That is why, he says, Jerome wrote a note of warning in his letter to Laeta, quoted above.[134] Abelard will recur in the next section, where the relation between the apocrypha and medieval literature on saints will be discussed.

While the notion of authority plays a distinct role in the attitude towards apocrypha as expressed in the work of Jerome and his followers, it is even more pronounced in the work of Augustine. Augustine mentions the lack of (canonical) authority as the most important meaning of the indication *apocryphus*.[135] This lack of authority of apocrypha is not only caused by their content (falsehood and lies) or their use (in a heretic context) but also by the lack of knowledge about their authorship. Here the original meaning of the word *apocryphus* is accentuated:

---

[132] Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo libri xii*, 6: *Suspicati sunt enim sequentes ex apocrifo Iudeorum deliramenta quandam Estham mulierculam fuisse de qua genuerit filios qui fratres Domini uocarentur*. B. Paulus (ed.), *Paschasius Radbertus. Expositio in Matheo libri XII* (Turnhout, 1984 = CCCM 56–56B), vol. 56A, p. 688.

[133] Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo libri xii*: … *quia dubia uel falsa sunt nolite credere quia non certa proferunt nec uulgata nec a sanctis Patribus edita sed fabulosa et mendaciis suis congrua*. Paulus (ed.), CCCM 56B, p. 1176.

[134] Abelard, *Sic et non*, praefatio: *Pleraque enim apocrypha ex sanctorum nominibus, ut auctoritatem haberent, intitulata sunt; et nonnulla in ipsis etiam divinorum testamentorum scriptis scriptorum vitio corrupta sunt. Unde fidelissimus scriptor et veracissimus interpres Hieronymus, Ad Laetam De Institutione Filiae scribens, nos praemonuit dicens: "Caveat omnia apocrypha; et si quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem sed ad signorum reverentiam legere voluerit, sciat non eorum esse quorum titulis praenotantur, et grandis esse prudentiae aurum in luto quaerere"*, ed. B. Boyer and R. McKeon (Chicago, 1977), p. 91.

[135] Augustinus, *Contra Faustum* XI.2, in Zycha (ed.), CSEL 25.1, pp. 314–315.

'hidden, unknown', in the sense of a work of which the author is unknown. Both connotations (apocrypha's many falsehoods and their unknown origin) turn out to be crucial to the use of the concept in the work of medieval authors, as will be demonstrated below. Both are mentioned in the most important locus where Augustine discusses the nature and quality of apocrypha, namely his main apologetic work *The City of God*, to which we will turn now.

In the fifteenth book of his *De civitate Dei*, Augustine describes the problem of *apocryphus* in the context of a digression on character and state of human life in the early stage of the created world. Augustine discusses, among other things, the plausibility of the origin of giants from the union of angels and mortal women (*De Civ.* XV.23), and refers to Gen. 6:1–5, where 'the sons of God' are said to have fallen in love with the beautiful women on earth and to have begotten children (giants) by them. Augustine then thrashes out the problem of these 'sons of God', who are actually not angels, as some interpreters believe, but humans. Scripture itself suffices, Augustine argues, to clarify this passage; there is no need to resort to apocryphal writings for clarification:

> Let us omit, then, the fables of those scriptures which are called apocryphal, because their obscure origin was unknown to the fathers from whom the authority of the true Scriptures has been transmitted to us by a most certain and well-ascertained succession. For though there is some truth in these apocryphal writings, yet they contain so many false statements, that they have no canonical authority. We cannot deny that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, left some divine writings, for this is asserted by the Apostle Jude in his canonical epistle. But it is not without reason that these writings have no place in that canon of Scripture which was preserved in the temple of the Hebrew people by the diligence of successive priests; for their antiquity brought them under suspicion, and it was impossible to ascertain whether these were his genuine writings, and they were not brought forward as genuine by the persons who were found to have carefully preserved the canonical books by a successive transmission. So that the writings which are produced under his name, and which contain these fables about the giants, saying that their fathers were not men, are properly judged by prudent men to be not genuine; just as many writings are produced by heretics under the names both of other prophets, and, more recently, under the names of the apostles, all of which, after careful examination, have been set apart from canonical authority under the title of Apocrypha.[136]

[136] Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* XV.23.4: *Omittamus igitur earum scripturarum fabulas, quae*

Augustine gives a 'definition' of the word *apocrypha* which came to dominate the approach to this literature in the Middle Ages. Apocrypha are writings of which the origin is unknown, even to the *patres* who demarcated canonical Scripture. Although they might contain some truth (*aliqua veritas*), there is so much falsehood in them that they must be denied every canonical authority (*propter multa falsa nulla est canonica auctoritas*).[137] Augustine then, with the help of the *Book of Enoch*[138] (where Gen. 6:1–5 and the existence of giants play an important part), explains the phenomenon of *pseudepigrapha*: books written under the name of an *auctoritas*, such as Enoch or other Old Testament prophets, or, more recently, the apostles (*et recentiora sub nominibus apostolorum*) but which, in reality, were composed by heretics (*ab haereticis proferentur*). These writings should be kept at a long distance from, again, canonical authority and should be labelled with the name 'apocrypha' (*quae omnia nomine apocryphorum ab auctoritate canonica diligenti examinatione remota sunt*).

The danger of mendacious contents, together with the lack of a known and proven author, gives the writings under discussion their apocryphal status and, therefore, their lack of (canonical) authority. It is precisely the Augustinian definition of apocrypha that runs as a leitmotiv through medieval Bible commentaries and discussions of apocrypha. Through Isidore of Seville it found its way into the works of Carolingian theologians and exegetes. Subsequently it is retraced in the work of 12th-century theologians. In the following, the continuity of this

---

apocryphae nuncupantur, eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus, a quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium Scripturarum certissima et notissima successione pervenit. In his autem apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa nulla est canonica auctoritas. Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch, illum septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus, cum hoc in Epistola canonica Judas apostolus dicat [Judae 14]. Sed non frustra non sunt in eo canone Scripturarum, qui servabatur in templo Hebraei populi succedentium diligentia sacerdotum, nisi quia ob antiquitatem suspectae fidei judicata sunt, nec utrum haec essent quae ille scripsisset, poterat inveniri, non talibus proferentibus, qui ea per seriem successionis reperirentur rite servasse. Unde illa quae sub ejus nomine proferuntur, et continent istas de gigantibus fabulas, quod non habuerint homines patres, recte a prudentibus judicantur non ipsius esse credenda; sicut multa sub nominibus et aliorum Prophetarum, et recentiora sub nominibus Apostolorum ab haereticis proferuntur, quae omnia nomine apocryphorum ab auctoritate canonica diligenti examinatione remota sunt. B. Dombart and A. Kalb (eds.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De civitate Dei* (Turnhout, 1955 = CCSL 47–48), vol. 48, p. 491. Trans. M. Dods, *The City of God by saint Augustine* (New York, 1950), p. 514.

137 Cfr Wermelinger, 'Apocrypha', cols. 388–389.

138 An apocryphon written in the 2nd century BC, mentioned frequently by various early Christian authors until the 5th century. See R.H. Charles (ed.), *The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (1913; repr. Oxford, 1973), pp. 163–164.

approach will be focussed on first. Thereafter, however, medieval voices will be heard who deviate from the Augustinian definition and even, as we will see, reverse the patristic argument of falsehood and truth in a remarkable way.

The first to refer to the Augustinian characterization of apocrypha is Isidore, namely in his *Etymologiae*, which functions as an important link between Augustine and the Bible commentators of the (early) medieval period. The Spaniard dedicates a chapter of this encyclopaedic work to the composition of the Bible, the titles and the authors of its books (*De scriptoribus et vocabulis sanctorum librorum*) (*Etymologiae* VI.2). The Old Testament comprises four *ordines*: Law, Prophets, and holy Scriptures, and a fourth order which consists of *apocrypha*, books not in the Hebrew Bible yet included in the Christian canon. The New Testament, in contrast, consists of two *ordines*: *ordo evangelicus* and *ordo apostolicus*.[139] Isidore gives a short description of every separate book from Genesis to Apocalypse and then concludes by saying that the sacred books are the words of the holy Spirit, written down in order to instruct the faithful and provide them with rules of faith and laws of life. Apart from these, Isidore adds, there are other books, called apocrypha.

> And they are called 'apocrypha', that is secret [writings], because they are called into question. For their origin is hidden, and it was unknown also to the *patres*, from whom the authority of the true Scriptures has been transmitted to us by a most certain and well-ascertained succession. For though there is some truth in these apocryphal writings, yet they contain so many false statements, that they have no canonical authority, and it is properly judged by prudent men that they must not be thought of as being written by those to whom they are attributed. For there are also many writings produced by heretics under the names both of prophets and, more recently, under the names of the apostles, all of which, after careful examination, have been set apart from canonical authority under the title of apocrypha.[140]

[139] Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, book VI.1.4–10, in W.M. Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx* (Oxford, 1966) (without page numbers).

[140] Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum*, book VI.2.51–52: *Praeter haec alia volumina apocrypha nuncupantur. Apocrypha autem dicta, id est secreta, quia in dubium veniunt. Est enim eorum occulta origo nec patet Patribus, a quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium scripturarum certissima et notissima successione pervenit. In iis apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa nulla est in eis canonica auctoritas; quae recte a prudentibus iudicantur non esse eorum credenda, quibus ascribuntur. Nam multa et sub nominibus prophetarum, et recentiora sub nominibus apostolorum ab haereticis proferuntur, quae omnia sub nomine apocryphorum auctoritate canonica diligenti examinatione remota sunt.* Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Etymologiae* (without page numbers).

Isidore's exact copy of Augustine's characterization of 'what is an apocryphon' found its way into the Middle Ages and became a crucial interpretation. In the Carolingian age, we find it incorporated as basic knowledge in didactic works on holy Scripture as well as instruments for the instruction of the clergy. Thus it is used in the anonymous *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*, transmitted in a manuscript of Salisbury of the year 900 that is often attributed to Alcuin because of similarities in style and method.[141] The work, set up as a catechetical work in the form of questions and answers, describes the books of the Bible. The discussion of the New Testament is concluded by the statement that all biblical books are mentioned and explained now, and that all the other books are called 'apocrypha'.[142] The question then inevitably follows: 'Why are they called apocrypha?' (*Quare dicuntur apocrifa?*), a question that is answered by the exact quotation of Augustine and Isidore as given above.

The same approach to apocrypha returns in Hrabanus Maurus's *De rerum naturis*, a work far better documented than the *Disputatio puerorum* and whose author is well-known.[143] As one of the leading Bible exegetes of the 9th century,[144] Hrabanus (780–856) deals with the composition and content of the Bible in several of his works.[145] Hrabanus's encyclopaedic work *De rerum naturis*, which received the title *De universo* in the first printed editions, is largely built on Isidore.[146] In the 22 books of the work, Hrabanus combines patristic sources with his own exegetical writings.[147] In Book V, Hrabanus deals with the content and authors of the New Testament. He concludes this part of his work with a short remark about those books that do not belong to the Bible. Hrabanus

141 *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*. PL 101, cols. 1097–1144, at cols. 1098–1099.

142 *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*. PL 101, col. 1130.

143 Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis*. PL 111, cols. 9–614.

144 For a survey of his Bible commentaries, see F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi* V (Madrid, 1955), nr. 7019–7087.

145 Apart from *De rerum naturis*, discussed in the following, his handbook for priests *De institutione clericorum*. A. Knöpfler (ed.), *Rabani Mauri de institutione clericorum libri tres* (Munich, 1901). Cfr Hen, *Royal patronage*, pp. 103–104; D. Iogna-Prat, 'Lieu de culte et exégèse liturgique à l'époque carolingienne', in C. Chazelle and B. van Name Edwards (eds.), *The study of the Bible in the Carolingian era* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 215–244, at 224*s*.

146 F.W. Bautz, 'Hrabanus Maurus', *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 2 (1990), cols. 1090–1093 (http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/; consulted 18-05-2006). See also E. Heyse, *Hrabanus Maurus' Enzyklopädie "De rerum naturis". Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zur Methode der Kompilation* (Munich, 1969). See on the title of the work ibid., pp. 2–4.

147 Heyse, *Hrabanus Maurus' Enzyklopädie*, p. 8.

repeats Isidore and Augustine: apocrypha are books of unknown origin, the mendacious contents of which deprive them from all canonical authority.[148] Hrabanus's work remained highly influential until well into the 12th century, as is demonstrated by the number of transmitted manuscripts.[149]

As far as their study of the composition of the Bible is concerned, Carolingian Bible commentators both preceding and succeeding Hrabanus correspond with this author in their reception of Isidore. The main author who follows Isidore in his discussion of apocrypha is the famous Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin (*c.* 730–804). He explicitly mentions Isidore (with Jerome) as his *auctoritas* concerning the definition of apocrypha in the context of the book Jesus Sirach.[150] The *Libri Carolini*, attributed to Theodulf of Orléans († 821), likewise stress the importance of reliable witnesses approved by the 'catholic and apostolic church':

> Therefore a dubious and debatable case must not be affirmed with tales from the apocrypha, but either with words from divine law or from those fathers that are accepted by the catholic and apostolic church, with salutary admonitions and the most trustworthy documents.[151]

The relation between apocrypha and (the lack of) authority is also manifest in the work of Hincmar of Reims (*c.* 806–882), though from a different perspective. This influential archbishop was primarily involved in the government and administration of the church, more than in the development of its doctrine. As an oblate at Saint Denis and pupil of abbot Hilduin, he had from an early age been connected to the court of Louis the Pious and was later connected to that of Louis's son Charles

[148] Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis* V.2: *Apocrypha autem dicta, id est secreta, quia in dubium veniunt. Est enim occulta origo: nec patet patribus, e quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium scripturarum certissima et notissima successione pervenerit. In his apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa nulla est in eis canonica auctoritas. Quae recte a prudentibus judicantur non esse eorum credenda, quibus ascribuntur. Nam multa et sub nominibus prophetarum, et recentiora sub nominibus apostolorum ab haereticis proferuntur, quae omnia sub nomine apocryphorum auctoritate canonica, diligenti examinatione, remota sunt.* PL 111, col. 110.

[149] Cfr Iogna-Prat, 'Lieu de culte et exégèse liturgique', p. 242 and footnote 76.

[150] Alcuin, *Contra Elipandum*, I.18: *In libro Jesu filii Sirac haec praefata sententia legitur, quem librum beatus Hieronymus atque Isidorus inter apocryphas, id est, dubias Scripturas deputatum esse absque dubitatione testantur.* PL 101, col. 254.

[151] *Libri Carolini*, c. III.30: *Res ergo dubia et in contentionem veniens non debet adstrui apochriforum neniis, sed aut divinae legis oraculis aut eorum doctorum, qui a [catholica et apostolica ecclesia recipiuntur], salutaribus monitis et luculentissimis documentis.* MGH Concilia II, suppl. 1, p. 480.

the Bald,[152] who installed him as archbishop of Reims in 845.[153] Hincmar played an important role in the consolidation of royal authority and its liturgical expression. He formulated the liturgical *ordo* for the coronation of Charles the Bald's son Louis II, which functioned as a model during the following centuries.[154] As far as doctrinal questions are concerned, Hincmar was an important partner in the discussion on predestination, notably in reaction to Gottschalk of Orbais.[155] In Hincmar's work, the subject of apocrypha is embedded not so much in a strictly biblical framework but, rather, in a broader context of apostolic, episcopal, papal, and imperial authority. In order to define the authority of these various categories, for instance in the conflict with his nephew Hincmar of Laon over the correct use of authoritative writings, Hincmar deals with the status and authority of Scripture and canon law, exploring the extent to which the canons of various church councils were accepted (*recepta*) by the universal church (i.e. in Hincmar's view, the Roman church—*apostolica sedes*).[156] A treatise on the matter is conserved as the *Opuscula et epistolae quae spectant ad causam Hincmari Laudunensis*, or, in short form, the *Opusculum LV capitulorum*.[157] In this work, Hincmar discusses, among other things, the *Decretum Gelasianum*, mentioned in the first part of this chapter, where 'blessed Gelasius' collected 'the books that are admitted by the catholic church' in recognition of the four ecumenical councils of the 4th and 5th centuries.[158] Hincmar mentions some non-biblical writings enumerated in the *Decretum Gelasianum* and follows the *Decretum* in its addition: 'But when these writings [*sc.* the passions of the martyrs] arrive in the hands of catholics, let the

---

152 R. Schieffer, 'Hinkmar von Reims', in LMA V, col. 30.

153 R. Kottje, 'Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Hinkmar von Reims und Hrabanus Maurus', in M.T. Gibson and J. Nelson (eds.), *Charles the Bald. Court and kingdom* (1981; Variorum reprints, 1990), pp. 235–240, at 235–236.

154 F.W. Bautz, 'Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims, Kanonist', *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 2 (1990), cols. 882–885; J. Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar of Reims', *The English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 241–279.

155 W. Otten, 'Carolingian theology', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *The medieval theologians. An introduction to theology in the medieval period* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 76–80; Kottje, 'Beziehungen zwischen Hinkmar von Reims und Hrabanus Maurus', p. 237*s*.

156 On the conflict between Hincmar of Reims and Hincmar of Laon, see H. Fuhrmann, 'Fälscher unter sich: Zum Streit zwischen Hinkmar von Reims und Hinkmar von Laon', in Gibson and Nelson (eds.), *Charles the Bald*, pp. 224–234.

157 Hincmar of Reims, *Opuscula et epistolae quae spectant ad causam Hincmari Laudunensis*. PL 126, cols. 282–494.

158 Hincmar of Reims, *Opuscula*, c. 25. PL 126, col. 384.

statement of the apostle Paul precede: "Test everything; hold fast to what is good" '.[159] Hincmar then makes clear that the apocrypha must be treated with distinction:

> And concerning the [apocrypha], some must be rejected entirely, others however must be considered among the apocrypha because of the blasphemies of the heretics, but they are not entirely abominable. For we read that catholic men have included testimonies of them in their writings, such as the blessed apostle Jude does in his epistle.[160]

Hincmar follows the remark on the *Book of Enoch* in the Epistle of Jude (v. 14) by Augustine in *De Civitate Dei*, quoted above. Although Hincmar does not give a profound treatment of the apocrypha in a biblical context, it is interesting to see how much he, too, is involved in the question of authority, so characteristic of Carolingian learning.

At the far end of the chronological range of this study, the view on apocrypha represented by Augustine, Isidore, and Hrabanus is maintained by 12th-century authors such as Hugh of St Victor and Peter of Blois. Hugh's discussion of apocrypha finds its place in a broader work on the *artes liberales* and their relation to the study of the Bible: the *Didascalicon de studio legendi*.[161] Hugh, who had entered William of Champeaux's famous monastery in the first decade of its existence, spent his entire life in St Victor until his death in 1141. He worked there as a teacher and counts as the most prominent of the Victorine theologians.[162]

Hugh's early work *Didascalicon de studio legendi*, which became very influential in the second half of the Middle Ages,[163] consists of two

[159] Hincmar of Reims, *Opuscula*, c. 25: *Sed cum haec ad catholicorum manus advenerint, beati Pauli apostoli praecedat sententia: Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.* PL 126, col. 384.

[160] Hincmar of Reims, *Opuscula*, c. 25: *Sed et in ipsis apocryphis discretionem teneri debere subinnuit: "De quibus quaedam in totum sunt rejicienda, quaedam autem propter haereticorum calumnias inter apocrypha sunt computenda, sed non penitus abominanda, de quibus viros catholicos in suis opusculis testimonia legimus assumpsisse, sicut et beatus Judas apostolus in epistola sua egit".* PL 126, col. 384.

[161] Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi*, C.H. Buttimer (ed.), *Didascalicon de studio legendi* (Washington, DC, 1939).

[162] M. Lemoine, *Hugues de Saint-Victor: L'art de lire* (Paris, 1991), p. 12; F.W. Bautz, 'Hugo von St Viktor', *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 2 (1990), cols. 1148–1151; E. Stiegman, 'Bernard of Clairvaux, William of St Thierry, the Victorines', in Evans (ed.), *The medieval theologians*, pp. 129–155, at 142. On the reception of Hugh of St Victor see Lemoine (ed.), *Hugues de Saint-Victor*, pp. 43–47.

[163] The *Didascalicon* was transmitted in almost 100 manuscripts in 45 libraries between the 12th and the 15th centuries. J. Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St Victor: a medieval guide to the arts* (New York, 1961), p. 4.

parts. The first serves as an introduction to the art of reading as a means of obtaining knowledge. In the second part, the reading of holy Scripture is at stake.[164] Chapters 1–6 of this part summarize the composition of the Bible and enumerate the authors and translators of its books. Chapter 7 deals with the apocrypha, in an exact quotation of Isidore's *Etymologiae* VI.2.50–53.[165] Hugh likewise follows Isidore in his qualification of some Old Testament books as *apocryphi*;[166] and Jerome, where he classifies some others as 'useful for the education of the people, but not for the reinforcement of the authority of ecclesiastical doctrine' (*ad aedificationem plebis, non auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam*).[167] Finally, in the penultimate chapter of this book, Hugh gives a list of the apocrypha (*Quae sint apocrypha*) by copying the *Decretum Gelasianum*.

Hugh deals briefly with the same material in his prologue to the *Sententiae de divinitate*, where he discusses the meaning of 'apocryphus' more elaborately and in his own words, with some examples.

> And it is important to know that some books are apocrypha, and others not. They are called 'apocryphal' because they are dubious, and a book is apocryphal when its author is unknown. There are two ways to call books 'apocryphal', namely regarding the first authority, by which they are composed, or regarding the second [authority] by which they are accepted. Thus Job is an apocryphon regarding the first authority, because it is unknown who wrote it: some say that it is Job, others Samuel, others Moses. Other books, however, are apocryphal because they are not accepted by the fathers of the church, regardless whether the author is known or not, such as the Infancy Gospel and the Itinerary of Peter and other similar books.[168]

---

[164] On Hugh as a biblical scholar and exegete see B. Smalley, *The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1983), pp. 86–106.

[165] Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi*, IV.7, in Buttimer (ed.), *Didascalicon*, pp. 77–78.

[166] Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, IV.8, in Buttimer (ed.), *Didascalicon*, p. 82 (2, 3, 4 Esdras).

[167] Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, IV.8, in Buttimer (ed.), *Didascalicon*, pp. 82–83 (Judith, Tobit, Maccabeans). Cfr Hieronymus, *Praefatio in libros Salomonis*. PL 28, cols. 1242–1243.

[168] Hugh of St Victor, *Sententiae de divinitate*, prol.: *Et sciendum quod librorum quidam sunt apocrypha quidam non; 'apocryphum' idem sonat quod 'dubium', et est liber apocryphus cuius auctor dubius est. Duobus autem modis dicuntur apocryphi, uel secundum primam auctoritatem qua dictati sunt, uel secundum secundam qua approbati sunt. Sicut Iob secundum primam auctoritatem apocryphus est, quia ignoratur quis fecerit: dicunt enim quidam quod Iob, alii quod Samuel, alii quod Moyses. Alii autem sunt apocryphi quia non approbati sunt a patribus ecclesiae, siue ignoretur quis fecerit, siue non, ut liber de infantia saluatoris et itinerarium Petri et alii huiusmodi.* A.M. Piazzoni (ed.), *Sententiae*

Hugh makes a distinction between canonical books that are called apocryphal because their author is unknown or dubious, like the book of Job, and apocrypha in the Augustinian sense: books that are not granted any canonical authority.

Peter of Blois (*c.* 1135–*c.* 1204) concludes the range of medieval authors within the scope of this study discussing the quality and status of apocrypha. Peter was trained at Chartres, Tours, Bologna, and Paris, and he spent the last decades of his life in England.[169] In line with Isidore and the early medieval didactic tradition, Peter wrote a treatise on the composition and authors of holy Scripture.[170] He follows the same line as Isidore and Hrabanus. Peter begins with explaining the structure of the Bible, indicating what books are not in the Hebrew but are in the Christian canon, and he continues by naming the authors of all canonical books. The discussion of the New Testament is closed by the exact quotation of Isidore's definition and qualification of apocrypha: *Praeter haec alia volumina apocrypha nuncupantur*. . . .

3.4. *Apocrypha and hagiography*

In an earlier section of this chapter, the relation between apocrypha and hagiography was discussed from a modern perspective. A survey of the opinions of contemporary scholarship on this matter shows an urge to emphasize the distinction between apocrypha and hagiography but at the same time the lack of a sharp demarcation of both concepts in relation to each other. Apart from the question of how far the attempt to make a distinction between apocrypha and hagiography is coloured by an anachronistic view on the matter, it must be stated that some of the most outstanding representatives of medieval scholarship express themselves on the relation between the apocryphal Acts of the apostles and literature on saints. In this section, three of these medieval testimonies are presented. Here again we can trace the evidence in three different ages: the early 8th century (Bede), the late 9th century (Notker I of Skt Gallen), and the 12th century (Abelard). All three authors deal with the apocryphal Acts of the apostles very explicitly, and very relevantly.

---

de divinitate, *Studi medievali* 23 (1982), 912–955, at 917. Hugh refers to apocrypha he found in the *Decretum Gelasianum*.

[169] J. Madey, 'Petrus von Blois', *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 16 (1999), cols. 1214–1215.

[170] Peter of Blois, *De divisione et scriptoribus sacrorum librorum*. PL 207, cols. 1051–1056.

Bede

Aversion against the Greek Acts of individual apostles among early Christian authors has been mentioned several times in the preceding sections. The first author to deal with the medieval Latin transmission of these Acts is Bede in his *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*. In the first book of this work, Bede repeatedly refers to what he calls the *historiae apostolorum* and evaluates their trustworthiness in relation to the canonical Acts of the apostles. Various elements in the text of *Retractatio* I.13 make clear that Bede is referring to apocryphal Acts of the apostles similar to the ones we know nowadays as the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias.[171] Thus he points to the *historiae in quibus passiones apostolorum continentur*, a description more or less the same as the one given of the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias by the author of its preface *Licet plurima*.[172] But it is also clear from references to the content that Bede had similar texts in mind to those found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, for example the statement that Simon and Jude preached in Persia and suffered martyrdom in the city Suanir, and that the apostle Matthew was assisted in his preaching in Ethiopia by the eunuch Candacus, who had been baptized by Philip. These *historiae* of the *passiones apostolorum* are called *apocryphal* by most people, thus Bede (*a plurimus deputantur apocryfae*), and he seems to join this opinion.[173] He signals a difference in the tradition on Simon and Jude between the *Historiae apostolorum*, to which Jerome corresponds in his Martyrology, and Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum*. Bede prefers Isidore, especially because, as he says, 'the author of the aforementioned passions of the apostles has betrayed himself in writing without doubt uncertain and mendacious things'.[174] Bede gives two examples: in the account of Matthew the unlikeliness of a man being called Candacus, for this is a woman's name, and the

---

[171] Beda Venerabilis, *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum*, c. I.13, in M.L.W. Laistner and D. Hurst (eds.), *Bedae Venerabilis Retractatio in Actus apostolorum* (Turnhout, 1983 = CCSL 121), pp. 106–107.

[172] … *illud etiam placuit, ut his virtutibus passionum historiae connectantur. Nam de multis apostolis nihil ad nos aliud praeter ipsorum passionum monumenta venerunt*. Quoted according to Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, vol. 2, p. 753 footnote 1: 'It seemed fit that the stories of the passions were combined with these miracle stories. For of many apostles nothing is known to us apart from the written memories of their passions'. Cfr footnote 52 above.

[173] Beda Venerabilis, *Retractatio in Actus*, c. I.13, in Laistner and Hurst (eds.), CCSL 121, p. 106.

[174] Beda Venerabilis, *Retractatio in Actus*, c. I.13: *Quod ne adhuc quidem negare audemus,*

confusion of Jude the apostle with Thaddeus, one of the 70 disciples in the account of the visit to Abgar king of Edessa.[175] Bede's comparison of the *Historiae apostolorum* with the writings of the *patres* and other ecclesiastical authorities leads to a negative evaluation of the *Historiae*. The latter are dominated by *incerta et falsa*: uncertain and mendacious matters.

An equally fierce rejection of an apocryphon by Bede concerns the tradition of the *Divisio apostolorum* as found in Pseudo-Melito's *De obitu beate genetricis dei*, an apocryphal work on the death of Mary attributed to a certain Melito, bishop of Asia.[176] Pseudo-Melito describes the return of the apostles to Mary's deathbed after they had been 'divided all over the world in the second year after the Lord's ascension, in order to preach each in his own province'.[177] Bede contests the tradition of the *divisio apostolorum* on various grounds. First he refers to Acts 8:1, which testifies the presence of the apostles in Jerusalem as opposed to other early followers of their doctrine. He emphasizes that it would be very unlikely that the apostle John would abandon Mary, the woman that was committed to him as a mother under his master's cross, and would leave her to the Jews to burn her body after her death. Bede warns against the use of Pseudo-Melito's work in 'dangerous thoughtlessness' (*incauta temeritate*) because of its incongruity with the authority of the canonical Acts (*contra auctoritatem beati Lucae*). Bede's judgement on the apocryphal tradition of Mary's deathbed is no less sceptical than on the tradition of the *divisio apostolorum*.[178] In chapters IX.29–30 Bede discusses

---

maxime cum ille qui praefatas apostolorum passiones scripsit ipse se certissime incerta et falsa scripsisse prodiderit. Laistner and Hurst (eds.), CCSL 121, p. 107.

[175] Beda Venerabilis, *Retractatio in Actus*, c. I.13, in Laistner and Hurst (eds.), CCSL 121, p. 107.

[176] Beda Venerabilis, *Retractatio in Actus*, c. VIII.1, in Laistner and Hurst (eds.), CCSL 121, pp. 134–135.

[177] Beda Venerabilis, *Retractatio in Actus* VIII.1: … *dicit quod secundo post ascensionem domini anno apostoli fuerint omnes toto orbe ad praedicandum in suam quisque prouinciam diuisi*. Laistner and Hurst (eds.), CCSL 121, p. 134.

[178] The *divisio apostolorum* is mentioned by the 9th-century historiographer Frechulf of Lisieux, *Historiae*, II.4, in M.I. Allen (ed.), *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia* (Turnhout, 2002 = CCCM 169A), pp. 500–506. My attention was drawn to this work by David Ganz, who also pointed out to me the mentioning of the tradition in the 12th canon of the Council of Aachen 836 (MGH Conc. II.2, p. 733). The same tradition is mentioned by the anonymous 9th-century poet known as the Poeta Saxo, liber V, verse 679–686, who seamlessly adds Charlemagne to the list of apostles (vv. 687–688). P. v. Winterfeld (ed.), *Poeta Saxo*, in MGH *Antiquitates* IV.1 (Berlin, 1899), pp. 1–71, at 71. My attention was drawn to this remarkable source by Rosamond McKitterick.

the supposition, mentioned in the context of the passage on the *divisio apostolorum* of Pseudo-Melito, that Paul had been sent to the gentiles already in the second year after Christ's ascension. This computation is in contradiction with Gal. 1:18. Therefore, according to Bede, it is clear that 'they err greatly who think, by following the books of the apocrypha, that [Paul] had been ordained to the apostolate of the gentiles already in the second year after the Lord's passion, together with Barnabas'.[179]

In Bede's *Retractationes in Actus*, the Latin narratives on the Acts and passions of the apostles (*historiae passionum apostolorum*) as well as Pseudo-Melito's *De obitu* are accorded little credence. The author of the *historiae* is easily caught lying, and that is enough to justify the label *apocryphus*. It is clear that Bede copies the judgement of many others (*plurimi*) when he uses the word *apocryphus* in this context. Bede himself is generous with terms such as *dubium* and *falsa* when discussing the *historiae*, characteristic words in the early Christian discourse on apocrypha. They are, in his eyes, little trustworthy, and they stand out darkly against the illuminating truth of canonical Scripture.

There is, however, a great difference between Bede's sharp rejection of Pseudo-Melito and the *historiae apostolorum* on the one hand, and, on the other, his approach to, for example, Lucianus's *Liber reuelationis reliquiarum Stephani*, a hagiographic work on the finding of the relics of Stephen. Bede discusses this work without any hesitation in the context of his treatment of Acts 8. In contrast with the *historiae apostolorum* and Pseudo-Melito, Bede clearly considers this to be a reliable source. However, it remains unclear why this work would not be under critique. In the section on Abelard below, this discussion will be continued, but not before an examination of the views of Notker of Sankt Gallen.

Notker I of Sankt Gallen

Notker Balbulus 'the Stammerer' (born *c.* 840) spent his life in the monastery of Sankt Gallen, where he worked as a writer, a scribe, and a teacher until his death on 6 April 912, as is registered in Sankt Gallen's necrology. Notker is famous for his collection of hymns (*sequentiae*) for the feast-days of the liturgical year, dedicated to Liutwerd of Vercelli

[179] Beda Venerabilis, *Retractatio* IX.30: … *errant multum qui apocryforum libros sectando putant eum secundo post passionem domini anno in apostolatum gentium cum Barnaba iam fuisse ordinatum*. Laistner and Hurst (eds.), CCSL 121, p. 139.

in 884.[180] Notker wrote some hagiographic literature and composed a martyrology (896). This work can be situated in the West-Frankish tradition of martyrologies and is based on the works of Hrabanus Maurus and Ado of Vienne in this genre.[181]

Notker is a rich source as far as the apocryphal Acts of the apostles and their relation to hagiography are concerned, since he dedicates a separate chapter in his *Notatio de illustribus viris* to 'The passions of the saints' (*de passionibus sanctorum*).[182] The *Notatio*, composed around 885, has the character of a didactic letter and presents a survey of early Christian and early medieval literature. The text is transmitted in some manuscripts in combination with the memorial book, the so-called *Formelbuch*, that Notker wrote in honour of the consecration of his former pupil Salomo as abbot of Skt Gallen (890–920) and as bischop of Konstanz (891–920),[183] but in others as a separate text,[184] which was later used in teaching.[185]

In the *Notatio*, Notker enumerates the most important early Christian and early medieval authors who can serve as 'teachers' for his pupil Salomo. In the first part of the work, Notker discusses the patristic exegetes of each of the biblical books, whereas in the second part he amplifies his recommendation of ecclesiastical literature on a wide range of subjects, from the sacerdotal ministry to hymns and poetry fit for a Christian. The part where Notker deals with the reading of the lives and passions of the apostles and martyrs is the most important for the present discussion. The context in which Notker mentions them is not primarily a liturgical one. Instead, he recommends the reading of the *agones et uictorias sanctorum martyrum* to Salomo because of their exemplary character in terms of contempt of this world and the mortification of the body. To this end, the *agones et victorias* of Peter and Paul, Andrew

---

[180] K. Herbers, 'Notker Balbulus', *Biografisch-bibliografisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 6 (1993), cols. 1032–1035 (http://www.bautz.de/bbkl, consulted on 08-06-2006).

[181] H.F. Haefele and Ch. Geschwind, 'Notker Balbulus (der Stammler) von Skt Gallen', in LMA VI, cols. 1289–1290; Herbers, 'Notker Balbulus', cols. 1032–1035; McCulloh, 'Historical martyrologies'.

[182] Notker Balbulus, *Notatio de illustribus uiris*. E. Rauner (ed.), 'Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio de illustribus uiris'', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986), 34–69, at 67–69. For bibliography on the *Notatio* see ibid., p. 34 footnote 1.

[183] The title is coined by E. Dümmler, *Das Formelbuch des Bischofs Salomo III. von Konstanz aus dem 9. Jahrhundert* (1857; reprint Osnabrück 1964). Haefele and Geschwind, 'Notker Balbulus', col. 1289.

[184] Rauner (ed.), 'Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio'', pp. 34, 41*s*.

[185] Ibid., p. 43.

and James the brother of John, as well as James the brother of the Lord, are of prime interest. Notker then adds:

> Moreover you must thoroughly examine the contests and victories of the holy martyrs, so that you accustom yourself by their example not only to despise the enticements of the world, but also to give your life to Christ and to consider the torturing of your body nothing by the grace of God and the indwelling of the holy Spirit; and first those of the principal apostles Peter and Paul, Andrew and James the brother of John, and James the brother of the Lord. The church, then, dismisses the authority of the *historiae* that are written about Andrew and John, but also of the passions of the other apostles. Of these, however, you know that the passion of Bartholomew is very near the truth, or even very true. But the *historia* of Peter and Paul, and of their disciples Processus and Martinianus the prisonkeepers, and of Nicomedes the presbyter, and of Nereo and Achilleo, and of Maro, Victorinus, Eutices, Marcellus, Petronella, Felicula, Domitilla, Potentia and Euphrosyna, must be read for instruction.[186]

As far as the relation between apocrypha and hagiography is concerned, Notker seems to be quite clear: he does not make any difference between the accounts of the life and martyrdom of the apostles and those of other, non-biblical saints. Still Notker's argument is not unequivocal. Whereas he recommends the *agones et victorias* of Peter and Paul, Andrew, James the Greater and James the Less for private reading, he at the same time underlines the lack of ecclesiastical authority of the *historiae* about Andrew and John, and 'the *passiones* of the other apostles', including that of Bartholomew, although it is 'very near the truth'. The implication of this lack of authority is not further explained. Notker then again mentions the *historia* of Peter and Paul, separately, and recommends it as edifying literature. It seems as if Notker wants to say that the *passiones* of the apostles are useful books for the edification of clergy-in-training, such as Salomo, even though they have no (canonical) authority. The most interesting observation therefore may be the

[186] Notker Balbulus, *Notatio de illustribus uiris*: *Praeter ea debes agones et uictorias sanctorum martyrum diligentissime perquirere, ut eorum exemplo non tantum inlecebras mundi respuere, sed et animam pro Christo ponere et cruciatus corporis pro nihilo ducere dei gratia et sancti spiritus inhabitatione consuescas; primumque precipuorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Andreae et Iacobi fratris Iohannis, sed et Iacobi fratris domini. Historiis uero, quae sunt de Andrea et Iohanne, sed et passionibus reliquorum apostolorum auctoritatem derogat ecclesia. Quarum tamen passionum Bartholomei uerisimillimam seu certe ueracissimam noueris. Hystoria uero de Petro et Paulo et eorum discipulis Processo et Martiniano carcerariis, Nicomede presbitero, Nereo et Achileo, Marone, Victorino, Euticete, Marcello, Petronella, Felicula, Domitilla, Potentia et Euphrosyna pro omni aedificatione legitur*. Rauner (ed.), 'Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio'', p. 67.

fact that Notker distinguishes between, on the one hand, literature that lacks ecclesiastical authority and, on the other, edifying literature. This vindicates François Bovon's division in canonical literature, apocrypha, and 'useful books', discussed in section 2.2 above.

Abelard

A third authority expressing himself on the relation between apocrypha and hagiography is Peter Abelard (1079–1142). Apart from the inclusion of the list of 'forbidden books' of the *Decretum Gelasianum* in his *Sic et Non*,[187] Abelard pays ample attention to the matter of apostle apocrypha in his *Sermon in praise of the holy protomartyr Stephen.*[188] In this sermon, Abelard points to the fact that the martyrdom of Stephen had regained so much authority that it was incorporated into the canonical scriptures and, consequently, had the same author as the passion of the Lord. This in contrast to stories about the martyrdom of the apostles, which are 'repudiated as apocrypha', and the departure of the Lord's mother, the author of which is not known with certainty. Only the *passio* of Stephen had the privilege to be written down by the pen of the evangelist.[189] Although no further comments follow, Abelard may be the most remarkable example among the medieval authors discussing the passions of the apostles. He makes a sharp distinction between the *passio* of the protomartyr, which is described in the canonical Acts of the apostles (Acts 7:54–60), and the *passiones* of the apostles, dismissed as 'apocrypha'. For Abelard, an important reason to classify the apocrypha as less than canonical Scripture is their pseudepigraphic character or the lack of a known author, as is made explicit in his additional remark on the (apocryphal) account of Mary's death. Thus, the work of Abelard may help to explain Bede's critical or even dismissive attitude towards the *Historiae apostolorum* and Pseudo-Melito's *De obitu*, on the one hand, which are anonymous or pseudepigraphic, and his unquestioning acceptance of the account of the invention of Stephen's relics, on the other hand, which is known to be written by the priest

[187] Abelard, *Sic et non*, ed. Boyer and McKeon, p. 108*s*.
[188] Abelard, *Sermo de laude sancti Stephani protomartyris*. PL 178, cols. 573–582.
[189] Abelard, *Sermo de laude Stephani*: *Cujus quoque passio tantam privilegii nacta est auctoritatem, ut sola ipsa canonicis inserta Scripturis, eumdem habuerit scriptorem, quem et Dominica. Tanquam apocryphae passiones apostolorum repudiantur, et exitus Dominicae matris certum ex scriptore titulum non habet. Sola est protomartyris passio evangelici scriptoris stylo insignita, et tam diligenter descripta, ut tam in sua quam in vestra laude abundet.* PL 178, col. 574.

Lucianus.[190] The same line of thought is expressed in the *Libri Carolini* (IV.11), discussed above, where the author cautions that anonymous hagiographic writings on the *Gesta patrum* (the *Libri Carolini* do not specify further) should be treated with caution, in contrast with the *vitae* written for example by Jerome.[191]

Apocrypha between rejection and acceptance

Both Bede and Abelard emphasize the importance of a reliable and authoritative author for the reception of a written tradition. Notker, however, seems to be more ambiguous in his evaluation of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles. In recent years, some work has been done on the assessment of apocrypha by medieval authors, in which both possibilities return.[192] In the following, these contributions on the medieval appreciation of apocrypha, in relation with hagiography, will be discussed.

In his book on the medieval *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Zbigniew Izydorczyk repeats the three patristic categories of meaning of the term *apocryphus*: books that were kept secret and were used only in the company of initiates; books containing teachings that were considered heretic or deviant; and books that were not reckoned to the canon and were therefore not in use in a liturgical or other public context. According to Izydorczyk, however, the main reason in the Middle Ages to handle apocrypha with reservation was a fourth category of meaning of the term, namely the obscure nature of their origin: apocrypha were called those books whose author or his or her origin was unknown.[193] This is in consonance with Bede and Abelard. Izidorczyk adds two examples from the second half of the Middle Ages: Bernaldus of Konstanz (*c.* 1054–1100), and Johannes Balbus (1286). The first states:

---

190 On Lucianus and his work on the invention of Stephen's relics, see Bovon, 'Beyond the Book of Acts', p. 97 (with further bibliography); and Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, pp. 201–203 (with further bibliography).

191 *Libri Carolini*, c. IV.11, in Freeman (ed.), MGH Concilia II, suppl. 1, p. 512.

192 Z. Izydorczyk, 'The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Latin Middle Ages', in Z. Izydorczyk (ed.), *The Medieval* Gospel of Nicodemus. *Texts, intertexts and contexts in Western Europe* (Tempe, 1997), pp. 43–101; Masser, *Bibel, Apokrypha und Legenden*, pp. 9–31; A. O'Leary, 'An orthodox English homiliary? Aelfric's views on the apocryphal Acts of apostles', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 100 (1999), 15–27; A.M.C. Casiday, 'St Aldhelm on apocrypha', *Journal of theological studies* n.s. 55 (2004), 147–157.

193 Izydorczyk, '*EN* in the Latin Middle Ages', pp. 78–79.

> The doctors of the church report that apocrypha are so called not because they are mendacious, but because they seem to be of dubious and unreliable authority. For very often they intersperse among their trifles canonical matter, which those who are orthodox should by no means refute together with those trifles.[194]

Johannes Balbus links the caution with which apocrypha are to be handled even more explicitly to their origin next to their content:

> 'Apocrypha' are properly called those writings whose origin and author are unknown, and although they may contain much truth, they are not considered authoritative on account of more falsehoods which they contain.[195]

In these two quotations, the relation between the origin and author of a text and its authority is repeated as an important notion in the medieval debate about apocrypha. Moreover, Izydorczyk underlines the fact that many medieval authors did use apocryphal sources, but not without warning their audience or readers and not without a kind of justification and explanation of their choice of material.[196] This is visible, as we have seen above, most clearly in the work of James of Voragine.[197]

An interesting study on the assessment of apocrypha by one medieval author is the article on the Anglo-Saxon abbot, bishop, and poet Aldhelm (*c.* 639–709) by Augustine Casiday. Casiday explores Aldhelm's use of apocrypha in his work *De virginitate*, concentrating on apocryphal sources on four biblical virgins: the apostles John (the

[194] Bernaldus Presbyter Constantiensis: *De excommunicatis vitandis, de reconciliatione lapsorum et de fontibus iuris ecclesiastici*: *Apocrifa autem dici ecclesiastici doctores tradunt; non quia omnia mentiantur, sed quia dubiae et suspectae auctoritatis esse videantur. Nam sepissime multa canonica suis neniis interserunt, quae nequaquam catholici cum eisdem neniis refutare debebunt.* F. Thaner (ed.), *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificium saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti*, vol. 2 (Hanover, 1892), p. 124, trans. Izydorczyk, '*EN* in the Latin Middle Ages', p. 79.

[195] Johannes Balbus, *Catholicon* (1460; repr. 1971), s.v. "apocrifus": *Apocrifa proprie dicuntur illa scripta quorum origo et autor ignoratur et quamuis sint ibi multa uera tamen non habentur in auctoritate propter plura falsa que ibi continentur*, trans. Izydorczyk, '*EN* in the Latin Middle Ages', p. 79.

[196] Izydorczyk, '*EN* in the Latin Middle Ages', p. 79. As examples Izydorczyk mentions Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim (*c.* 935–after 972) and her *Legendae*, the anonymous author of the *Vita beate virginis Marie et Salvatoris rhythmica*, and James of Voragine. Izydorczyk, '*EN* in the Latin Middle Ages', pp. 79–81.

[197] Izydorczyk's study of the medieval evaluation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is also exemplary because of its attention to the codicological context of the apocryphon, of crucial interest to a clearer understanding of the reception of apocrypha in the Middle Ages though beyond the scope of the present study.

Evangelist), Thomas, Paul, and the Old Testament priest Melchisedech. Casiday's discussion of Aldhelm's use of the apocryphal Acts of Thomas is of particular interest.[198] According to Casiday, Aldhelm solely relies on the Latin *Passio Thomae*, leaving aside the Latin *Acts of Thomas* (*Miracula Thomae*). Casiday then suggests that Aldhelm could safely consider the *Passio* as a hagiographic work, whereas he would be compelled to give account of the use of an apocryphon (the *Acts of Thomas*). Now this is a suggestion that sounds compelling, but actually raises many questions. Would Aldhelm have thought in such schematic generic terms? Why would he regard half of the Latin translation and rewriting of the ancient Greek *Acts of Thomas* as hagiography (*Passio Thomae*) and the other half (*Acta Thomae*) as an apocryphon? Casiday's formulation of doubt towards his own hypothesis, viz., that Aldhelm would regard the Latin *Passio Thomae* not as hagiography because it is written 'in the style of Scripture' and is therefore very different from the 'Acts of the Saints' Aldhelm is acquainted with,[199] is even more problematic. Even if the accounts on the apostles as found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias (for that is what Casiday is referring to) are different in style from contemporary or slightly later hagiographic texts—which still remains to be seen—they are always nearer to early medieval saints' lives than to the Lukan Acts in the canonical New Testament. However this may be, Aldhelm is clearly an excellent example of an author who makes use of extra-biblical material on biblical matters, as long as it is not in contradiction with Scripture's truth such as statements on the apostles' chastity,[200] while at the same time fiercely rejecting all non-biblical traditions as soon as their content is in contradiction with orthodox doctrine. For we can hardly overlook Aldhelm's Jerome-like verdicts on *cetera apocriforum deleramenta*, which follows his discussion of the *Apocalypse of Paul*,[201] or his pointed judgement *apocriforum enim naenias et incertas fribulorum fabulas*, with reference to the figure of Melchizedech in Jewish tradition.[202] All in all, Aldhelm seems to be one of those sources legitimating Bovon's thesis that there is not such a sharp contradiction between canonical and apocryphal but, rather, a nuanced and subtle differentiation among: 1) what is in the Bible, and therefore beyond

198 Casiday, 'St Aldhelm on apocrypha', pp. 150–151.
199 Ibid., p. 151.
200 Ibid., p. 155.
201 Aldhelm, *De uirginitate* 24, quoted by Casiday, 'St Aldhelm on apocrypha', p. 152.
202 Aldhelm, *De uirginitate* 54, quoted by Casiday, 'St Aldhelm on apocrypha', p. 154.

every suspicion; 2) what is in contradiction with biblical or ecclesiastical doctrine; and 3) what is not in the Bible and might even be classified as apocryphal in the patristic sense, but is not in contradiction with canonical truth or ecclesiastical doctrine either: Bovon's 'useful books'. Finally, Casiday convincingly emphasizes Aldhelm's use of the concept *apocryphus*, not as rejectable or heretic texts by definition, but in a far more neutral way as texts of which the origin is unknown but the content not necessarily rejectable.[203] Aldhelm thus testifies to the existence of an autonomous well-thought-out approach to apocrypha in the Middle Ages, which might even deviate from authorities such as Augustine.[204]

A further contribution to the study of medieval evaluations of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles also deals with an Anglo-Saxon author. Aideen O'Leary concentrates on the preacher Aelfric and his view on the apocryphal Acts. Aelfric, working in the last two decades of the 10th century, is known among modern scholars as a strong opponent of non-biblical material as sources for his sermons.[205] O'Leary demonstrates an unknown side of Aelfric by showing that he, however conscious and cautious about heretical thought, made use of apocryphal material as 'one of his principal sources', as can be detected from his work on the apostles in the 'Catholic Homilies' and the 'Lives of Saints'.[206] According to O'Leary, Aelfric's approach to apocrypha was a pragmatic one: as long as there is no heresy found in them, they can be used.[207] Still, Aelfric does not go as far as Aldhelm in his disregard of authoritative utterances on the value and truthfulness of certain apocryphal writings. Thus, he omits a passage from the *Passio Thomae* to which Augustine did not want to attach any faith because it was not in the biblical canon (*Cui scripturae licet nobis non credere; non est enim in catholico canone*).[208] Yet it is clear from Aelfric's own writing that the main reason not to translate the challenged passage is Augustine's rejection, while his own attitude towards these writings is much milder. According to O'Leary, Aelfric made little distinction between the apocryphal Acts of the apostles and

[203] Casiday, 'St Aldhelm on apocrypha', p. 156.
[204] Cfr ibid., p. 155, footnote 37.
[205] O'Leary, 'An orthodox English homiliary?', p. 15.
[206] Ibid., p. 16.
[207] Ibid., p. 19.
[208] Comment by Augustine in his *De sermone Domini in monte* I.65. PL 34, col. 1263. O'Leary, 'An orthodox English homiliary?', pp. 18–19. See also Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. lv.

the lives or *passiones* of other saints of his own accord.[209] It is interesting, therefore, to note that Aelfric did not use the term 'apocryphal Acts', or 'Acts of apostles'. He preferred the general *sanctorum passiones uel uitas* when referring to his apostle sources (mainly the collection of *Virtutes apostolorum* of Pseudo-Abdias).[210]

In the same vein, the 10th-century Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim shows a mild approach to apocrypha in her *Legendae*:

> However, if the objection is raised that some matters of this work are, according to the estimation of some, taken from the apocrypha, this is not a crime of unjust presumptions, but an error out of ignorance. Since when I started to weave the thread of this series [of legends], I did not know that [the stories] about which I had determined to work, were dubious. But as soon as I had certified it, I refused to remove them, for what seems to be a falsehood, might perhaps turn out to be truth.[211]

For Hrotsvitha, the extra-canonical status of a work does not necessarily take away all claim on truth. What belongs to the canon is true without further debate. But what does not belong to the canon *can also be true*, or hold truth. The author should be aware of the danger that by rejecting something as 'false', he or she might throw away truth. This is a remarkable reversal of the patristic statement that the apocrypha, though they may contain some truth, should be rejected because of the many falsehoods they contain.[212]

Gradually, in the work of medieval authors an alternative becomes visible to the traditional patristic attitude towards the apocryphal Acts of the apostles. The medieval authors discussed above offer some evidence of a milder and more pragmatic approach to the apostle apocrypha. Their attitude is more differentiated: as long as there is no

---

[209] O'Leary, 'An orthodox English homiliary?', p. 22.

[210] Ibid., p. 16. On 'titles' of the apostle apocrypha in medieval manuscripts, see Philippart, who lists *passiones app., passionarium / passionalis app., virtutes app., miracula seu passiones app., actus et passiones app., agones app., liber app., legendae app.*, in G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (Turnhout, 1997 = Typologie des sources 24–25), p. 88.

[211] Hrotsvitha, *Praefatio*, c. 3–4: *Si autem obicitur, quod quaedam huius operis iuxta quorundam aestimationem sumpta sint ex apocrifis, non est crimen praesumtionis iniquae, sed error ignorantiae, quia, quando huius stamen seriei coeperam ordiri, ignoravi, dubia esse, in quibus disposui laborare. At ubi recognovi, pessumdare detrectavi, quia, quod videtur falsitas, forsan probabitur esse veritas*. P. von Winterfeld (ed.), *Hrotsvithae opera*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1965), p. 2. Quoted by Masser, *Bibel, Apokrypha und Legenden*, p. 23.

[212] A similar attitude can be found in the work of other medieval authors who pass the chronological boarder of this study; see Masser, *Bibel, Apokrypha und Legenden*, e.g. pp. 27, 47.

downright heresy in an apocryphon, it can only add to the knowledge and education of the faithful. Moreover, an interesting reverse of the patristic argument is visible. Augustine and Leo stated that, although there might be some truth in apocryphal writings, they are and remain a breeding ground of many falsehoods and lack any canonical authority. People like Hrotsvitha and Aelfric seem to state the opposite: as long as there are no clear lies, it is worthwhile to save and transmit the possible truth in apocryphal books. The same attitude seems to be at the basis of James of Voragine's dealing with apocrypha in his *Legenda aurea*, mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter.

3.5. *Apocrypha and liturgy*

The previous sections examined the evaluation of apocrypha in various contexts by a range of early Christian and medieval authors. Many of those authors remarked on the lack of authority of these extra-canonical writings because of their unknown origin or dubious contents. Only few of them, however, consider the question whether or not the apocrypha might be useful in the context of the liturgy. The most important source on the use of apocrypha in public worship may be Leo I's letter to Turibius, discussed above. Medieval sources on this specific matter are rare. Nevertheless, we find the reflection of a discussion on this matter in the writings of the 9th-century Agobard and Florus of Lyons.

Agobard (769–840) became archbishop of Lyons in 816 and participated in the revolt of Louis the Pious's sons against their father in 833–834. When this rebellion faltered in 834, Agobard went into exile.[213] Louis was rehabilitated in 835, and Agobard was replaced by Amalarius of Metz (*c.* 775–852 / 53), known as one of the most important liturgists of the Carolingian period. Amalarius, who had to deal with a substantial variety in antiphonals in circulation in the Frankish churches of the first quarter of the 9th century, obtained imperial permission to go to Rome and reform the Frankish liturgy of the office after the Roman model.[214] Amalarius's approach to the liturgy met with fierce resistance

[213] A. Cabaniss, 'Florus of Lyons', *Classica et mediaevalia* 19 (1958), 212–232, at 221–222; E. Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon. Leben und Werk* (Cologne, 1969), pp. 261–263; J. Nelson, 'The last years of Louis the Pious', in Godman and Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne's heir*, pp. 147–159, esp. 155–156.

[214] R.-J. Hesbert, 'L'antiphonaire d'Amalaire', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 94 (1980), 176–194. According to Hesbert, Amalarius's proposals regarding the liturgy of the hours were

in the archbishopric,[215] where the deacon Florus (†860) showed himself a dedicated adherent to his exiled bishop. In 838, Florus completed his *Opuscula adversus Amalarium*, in addition to his mass commentary (*Expositio Missae*), which he composed as an alternative to Amalarius's allegorical exegesis of mass.[216] The *Opuscula* is a vehement protest against Amalarius's eucharistic doctrine. Florus campaigned, for example, against Amalarius's idea that Christ's body in the eucharist was of tripartite structure, against his 'obscene' interest in the physical digestion of the host after consumption, and against allegorical readings of biblical passages that were, in Florus's view, understandable without allegorical interpretation.[217] In his plea, Florus inserts a great variety of scriptural passages as well as writings of authoritative authors—the truthful sources on which a theological argument ought to be built, as Florus seems to be saying. Among them is the passage of Leo I's letter to Turibius, in which Leo dismisses all apocryphal writings and their use in any practice of reading.[218] The reference makes clear that Leo's statement was still fresh and valid in the 9th century, even though it is repeated here in a general context, not a liturgical one.

Despite Florus's protest, Amalarius's allegorical exegesis of the liturgy and of mass in particular became very influential throughout the Middle Ages.[219] Agobard, from his place of exile, initially contested Amalarius's ideas with regard to liturgy with success. However, while

---

not followed in any liturgical practice—this raises the question what the importance of Amalarius's reform of the antiphonal actually was. On liturgical reforms under Louis the Pious see Hen, *Royal patronage*, pp. 96–120. Hen states that the Carolingian liturgists (Hrabanus Maurus, Walafrid Strabo, Agobard of Lyons) described living practice with the aim to instruct young clergy on the correct (execution of the) rite rather than striving for reforms. Only Amalarius's (controversial) work is an exception to this. According to Hen, the liturgical situation in the Carolingian 9th century seems to be one of continuity of the existing diversity rather than of unification. For a divergent opinion see Ph. Bernard, *Du chant romain au chant grégorien (IVème–XIIIème siècle)* (Paris, 1996), who defends a deliberate and successful 'romanisation' of the Frankish liturgy in the Carolingian period. Bernard's Rome-centred perspective on the matter makes the tenability of his conclusions questionable.

215 Hesbert, 'L'antiphonaire d'Amalaire', p. 194.

216 A. Kolping, 'Amalar von Metz und Florus von Lyon: Zeugen eines Wandels im liturgischen Mysterienverständnis in der Karolingerzeit', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 73 (1951), 424–464.

217 Cabaniss, 'Florus of Lyons', p. 224. The treatise was presented as a work of pope Martin I (649–653), but Florus is generally considered as the author. Ibid.

218 Florus of Lyons, *Opuscula adversus Amalarium*, c. 21. PL 119, col. 93.

219 On the manuscript transmission and influence of Amalarius's work, mainly the *Liber officialis*, see Iogna-Prat, 'Lieu de culte et exégèse liturgique', p. 242 and footnote 76.

Amalarius's allegorical approach to liturgy became directional in subsequent ages, Agobard's prescriptive writings on liturgy, including his *De antiphonario*, gained little influence in the long term.[220] The exiled archbishop concentrated his objections to Amalarius on the reform of the liturgy of the hours and its main book, the antiphonal, possibly in close connection with Florus.[221] In *De antiphonario*, Agobard vehemently defended his opinion, against Amalarius, that in the liturgy of the hours both antiphons and responsories should be taken exclusively from the books of holy Scripture, the authority and sanctity of which are safeguarded by the choice of the *patres*.[222] The selection of material suitable for the liturgy of the hours ought to be made after consultation of the canons and the sayings of the *patres*, for they make clear which material is fitting and which, by lack of gravity, truth, and *ratio*, should be rejected.[223] Agobard corroborates his conviction by referring to various church fathers, including Jerome, Cyprian, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, before he reaches his conclusion:

> Let no one dare to meditate or say in the congregation responsories or antiphons taken not from canonical Scripture, which some are accustomed to sing at a melody that they have composed at their pleasure.[224]

Agobard dismisses the use of non-canonical texts for office chants in no uncertain terms: these writings are *inepta*, *haeretica*, *mendatia*, etc.[225]

---

[220] Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon*, pp. 315–317. Still, *De antiphonario* was Agobard's most influential work. L. Van Acker (ed.), *Agobardi Lugdunensis opera omnia* (Turnhout, 1981 = CCCM 52), pp. 335–351. On the manuscript transmission see Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon*, p. 316 note 31; M. Huglo, 'Les remaniements de l'Antiphonaire Grégorien', in *Culto cristiano e politica imperiale carolingia: Atti del XVIII Convegno del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale (Todi, 9–12 ottobre 1977)* (Todi, 1979), pp. 89–120, at 103–105; and on Agobard's influence, pp. 107–113. The article is reprinted in M. Huglo, *Les sources du plain-chant et de la musique médiévale* (Aldershot, repr. 2004). With special thanks to the author, who provided me with this contribution.

[221] On Agobard's authorship see Van Acker (ed.), *Agobardi opera*, p. xxxvi. Van Acker proposes a date of origin between 835 and 838, during Amalarius's episcopate and Agobard's absence from Lyons. Ibid., pp. xlvi–xlvii. See on this treatise also Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon*, pp. 273–279. The co-operation with Florus has been suggested by A. Wilmart, 'Un lecteur ennemi d'Amalaire', *Revue Bénédictine* 36 (1924), 317–329, at 328.

[222] Agobard, *De antiphonario*, c. 3, in Van Acker (ed.), *Agobardi opera*, p. 339.

[223] Agobard, *De antiphonario*, c. 9–10, in Van Acker (ed.), *Agobardi opera*, pp. 343–344.

[224] Agobard, *De antiphonario*, c. 17: *Nullus praesumat responsoria, aut antiphonas, quae solent aliqui composito sono pro suo libitu non ex canonica Scriptura assumpta canere, in congregatione ista vel meditari vel dicere*. Van Acker (ed.), *Agobardi opera*, p. 349.

[225] Cfr Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon*, p. 275 and note 88. Boshof suggests that this choice of words is actually directed to Amalarius. Ibid., p. 279.

The struggle between Agobard and Florus on the one hand and Amalarius on the other is very complicated because of the political spider's web in which they were all entangled.[226] It is difficult to determine to what extent the acidness of the discussion was dictated by the hostile animosity between the exiled archbishop and his deacon and the substitute. However this may be, it is hardly possible to misunderstand Agobard's attempt to purify the antiphonal from every non-canonical prose, as Michel Huglo summarizes.[227] Even though Agobard pays only little attention to the apocrypha, it is clear that his goal is to expel them from the liturgy and to focus exclusively on canonical Scripture as liturgical material.[228] Despite the considerable influence of Agobard's *De antiphonarii*, his conviction that canonical Scripture alone should serve as material to be sung in the divine office did not find decisive support. This will become clear from the case studies in chapters 2 to 5 of this study. They make manifest that the composers of liturgical texts in general did not confine themselves to the canonical Bible. Instead, we shall see how the office liturgy of some of the apostles is nourished exclusively by apocryphal sources.

4. *Conclusion*

The presentation of medieval thinking on the matter of apocrypha in the foregoing makes clear that Rosweyde's initial surprise at the occurrence of so much apocryphal material in the daily liturgy of the saints is not without medieval parallels. Even if Rosweyde's hesitation might have been primarily a reaction to the ample attention paid to canon and apocrypha in the theological and confessional debate of his time, questions about the use of extra-canonical material in the liturgy did exist in the Middle Ages. Important testimonies are the work of Leo I and its reception by 9th-century liturgists, as well as the work of Bede, Notker, Abelard, and James of Voragine concerning the relation between apostle apocrypha and the canonical accounts on the

[226] Michel Huglo describes the sometimes 'bitter' fights between 9th-century liturgists in his article Huglo, 'Les remaniements de l'Antiphonaire', pp. 93–94. See also R. McKitterick, *The Frankish church and the Carolingian reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977), pp. 149–153; see further Chr. Jones, *A lost work by Amalarius of Metz: interpolations in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS. 154* (London, 2001 = HBS Subsidia, 2).

[227] Huglo, 'Les remaniements de l'Antiphonaire', p. 91.

[228] Ibid., pp. 105–106.

life and death of biblical persons. In general, we may conclude that the position and status of apocrypha, including the apocryphal Acts of apostles, was not fixed without discussion. The judgement of the *patres* was weighty, but nevertheless an autonomous evaluation of apocrypha developed throughout the Middle Ages. We observe the fierce rejection of Leo, Bede, and Agobard of Lyons next to the mild pragmatism of Notker, Hrotsvitha, and Aldhelm. All in all, the medieval period shows a many-sided attitude towards extra-canonical literature. In the following chapters, liturgy itself will be our guide in a landscape which emerges, as we will soon find out, full of apocryphal monuments and memorials.

CHAPTER TWO

BARTHOLOMEW: APOSTLE AGAINST IDOLS

In the canonical books, the apostle Bartholomew is mentioned together with Philip (Mt. 10:3; Lk. 6:14) or Matthew (Acts 1:13) or both (Mk. 3:18). The relation with Philip is confirmed by the widespread tradition that identifies Bartholomew with Nathanael, who was brought to Jesus by Philip (John 1:45).[1] Apart from the list of apostles in Acts 1:13 his name does not occur in the canonical Acts of the apostles. Outside the biblical canon, however, different traditions came into existence about Bartholomew's missionary activity in India, Lycaonia in Asia Minor, or Armenia. Likewise, three different traditions circulate concerning his death, one stating that the apostle was decapitated, one that he was flayed alive, and another that he was first flayed alive and then decapitated.

1. *Development of the cult*

The veneration of the apostle Bartholomew in the western, Latin church was inspired in the first place by the translation of the apostle's relics from Asia Minor to Lipari, which took place around AD 580, and the building of a church on this island south of the Italian mainland. Gregory of Tours delivers an eyewitness account of this event in his *Liber in gloria martyrum*.[2] The translation account is preceded by only one sentence concerning the apostle's martyrdom: 'The history of his

---

[1] 'Bartholomew', in D.H. Farmer (ed.), 5th ed. *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (2004), p. 43; M. Zender, 'Bartholomaeus', in LMA I, col. 1491; L. Leloir (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres. Traduction de l'édition arménienne de Venise* (Turnhout, 1992 = CCSA 3–4), vol. 4, pp. 707–708. However, Nathanael is also identified with Simon Chananeus; see chapter 5.

[2] Gregorius Turonensis, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, c. 34. B. Krusch (ed.), MGH SRM I (Hanover, 1885), pp. 484–561, at 509. Van Esbroeck mentions Gregory as the source of this translation tradition. M. Van Esbroeck, 'Chronique arménienne', *Analecta Bollandiana* 80 (1962), 423–445, at 427. On the translation of Bartholomew's relics see Zender, 'Bartholomaeus', col. 1491; and F. Spadafora, 'Bartolomeo Apostolo', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (ed. Istituto Giovanni XXIII; Rome, 1961–1969), II, pp. 852–878, at 861.

struggle states that the apostle Bartholomew was martyred in Asia Minor'.[3] Gregory deviates from the Latin *Passion of Bartholomew*, to be introduced below, which represents the tradition of Bartholomew's martyrdom in India. Gregory's friend and contemporary Venantius Fortunatus, in contrast, does follow the Indian tradition, as becomes clear from one of his poems in which he reflects on the tradition of the *Divisio apostolorum* (*Carmen* VIII.3). Here Venantius connects the apostle Bartholomew to India.[4]

Bartholomew's cult did not remain confined to Lipari but spread through the Latin lands. The distribution of relics certainly stimulated the cult's dissemination. When Muslims invaded the island Lipari, the apostle's body was transferred to the Italian mainland and brought to safety to Benevento in AD 838.[5] The Lombard ruler Sicard of Benevento (832–839) is said to have played an important role in this translation, when he needed help in his attempt to dominate the region.[6] In the 11th century, an arm of the apostle was transferred to Canterbury, from where the apostle's cult spread through the British isles.[7] Bartholomew must have been a prominent saint in the Anglo-Saxon world at a much earlier date already. In Felix's *Life of saint Guthlac*, written around 730–740, the 7th-century saint chose Bartholomew as his patron when he dedicated his life to hermitage.[8] Bartholomew's *natale* was celebrated

[3] Gregorius Turonensis, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, c. 34: *Bartholomeum apostolum apud Asiam passum agonis ipsius narrat historia*. Krusch (ed.), MGH SRM I, p. 509. Trans. R. van Dam, *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the martyrs* (Liverpool, 1988), p. 55. Krusch thinks that Gregory is referring to the *Passio Bartholomaei* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias (footnote 4). This tradition, however, locates Bartholomew's mission in India.

[4] Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VIII.3 (*De virginitate*): *Inde triumphantem fert India Bartholomaeum*. F. Leo (ed.), MGH AA IV.1, p. 185. Cfr E. Ewig, 'Die Verehrung orientalischer Heiligen im spätrömischen Gallien und im Merowingerreich', in P. Classen and P. Scheibert (eds.), *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm* (Wiesbaden, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 385–400, at 389.

[5] Zender, 'Bartholomaeus', col. 1491; 'Bartholomew', in Farmer (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p. 43. B. de Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie salernitaine. La translation de S. Matthieu', *Analecta Bollandiana* 80 (1962), 82–110, at 92, points to the widespread influence the translation of Bartholomew's relics had to the Latin world.

[6] H.H. Kaminsky, 'Sicard (Sichard), Fs. v. Benevent', in LMA VII, col. 1833. See also L.M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, 4 vols. (Gotha, 1897–1915), vol. 3.1, p. 206; H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IXe–XIe siècle)* (Rome, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 423–429. In chapter 4 below, a similar importance of the local ruler in the relic translation of an apostle, viz. Matthew, will be discussed.

[7] 'Bartholomew', in Farmer (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p. 43.

[8] *Vita sancti Guthlaci auctore Felice*. B. Colgrave (ed. and trans.), *Felix's Life of saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956). I would like to thank Kate Cubitt, who kindly drew my attention to this source. See also A. Thacker, 'In search of saints: the English church

here on 25 August instead of the 24th, the usual day in other parts of the western church.[9] As will become clear from the discussion of early medieval eucharistic prayer texts in section 3 of this chapter, the cult of the apostle flourished also in Gaul (8th century) and Spain (8th to 9th centuries) as well as in the northern parts of Italy.

Although the main focus of this study is on liturgical texts proper, some attention is paid to other documents containing information on the development of the apostles' cults and on their life and death, such as the early medieval *Breviarium apostolorum* and Isidore of Seville's treatise *De ortu et obitu patrum*, and the early medieval martyrologies. These sources will be discussed in section 3 of this chapter.

Subsequently, liturgical sources from the mid-8th century onwards testify to the existence of a feast-day for the apostle. As far as the sacramentary is concerned, Bartholomew's commemoration is found in Gaul (*Eighth-century Gelasiana*) and Spain (*Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*; the 11th-century *Sacramentary of Vich*). The occurrence of a mass for Bartholomew in the sacramentaries and early plenary missals of South Italy (*Missale Beneventanum of Canosa*) needs no explanation, given the presence of the apostle's relics in this region from the 9th century onwards. English sources for the eucharistic liturgy provide texts for Bartholomew from the 11th century onwards (*Canterbury Benedictional*), whereas in the divine office the oldest antiphonal dates likewise to the 11th century (*Antiphonal of Ivrea*). In section 4 of this chapter these sources will be examined more closely. But first, the apocryphal traditions on Bartholomew will be charted in the following section.

---

and the cult of Roman apostles and martyrs in the seventh and eighth centuries', in J. Smith, *Early medieval Rome and the Christian West: essays in honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 247–277, at 272.

[9] Thacker, 'In search of saints', pp. 272–273. See also Levison's list of 'The patron saints of English churches in the seventh and eighth centuries', in W. Levison, *England and the continent in the eighth century* (Oxford, 1946), esp. p. 262. Kellner mentions 24 August as Bartholomew's feast-day in the West, but various liturgical and calendrical sources give, as will be shown below, 25 August instead. K. Kellner, *Heortologie oder die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Kirchenjahres und der Heiligenfeste von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Freiburg i.B., 1911), p. 212. Harnoncourt and Auf der Maur suggest a shift from the celebration of the *natale* from the older date (25 August) to the date of the translation of the relics to Lipari. P. Harnoncourt and H.-J. Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, vol. 2.1 (Regensburg, 1994 = Gottesdienst der Kirche, Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft VI.1), p. 229.

2. *Apocryphal traditions*

Although no 'official' original Greek *Acts of Bartholomew* are transmitted, different traditions on life and death of the apostle exist in various languages. The most important traditions are the *Passio Bartholomaei*, both in Greek and in Latin, and the Armenian *Vita Bartholomaei*.[10] Apart from the apostle Bartholomew, there is also the Bartholomew occurring in the 5th-century Greek *Acta Philippi* as one of Philip's companions. Three of the most important legendary traditions concerning Bartholomew are presented in the following, all of which recur in the liturgical prayers.[11]

2.1. *The tradition of the* Passio Bartholomaei: *Bartholomew in India*

To the Latin world, the *Passio Bartholomaei* is of first importance. Opinions differ on the question whether this Passion was first transmitted in Greek or in Latin.[12] The manuscripts containing the Greek tradition are not older than the 13th century, whereas the Latin passion is transmitted in manuscripts from the late 8th and early 9th centuries onwards.[13] The Latin version is transmitted as part of the so-called Collection of Pseudo-Abdias.[14] As no account of the translation of Bar-

---

[10] Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 54. Apart from these, Lipsius mentions some fragmentary traditions, such as fragments of the Coptic *Acta Bartholomaei*, notes on Bartholomew in the Arabic *Synaxarium*, and the Abasynian *Certamen apostolorum*.

[11] Apart from the literary accounts of the 'acts' of Bartholomew, including the accounts of his passion and death, there is also an extensive apocalyptic literature linked to this apostle. An introduction to this material with a French translation of two texts is found in J.-D. Kaestli and P. Cherix, *L'évangile de Barthélemy d'après deux écrits apocryphes* (Turnhout, 1993). The texts are generally indicated as *The questions of Bartholomew* and *The book on the resurrection of Jesus Christ by the apostle Bartholomew*. See also J.-D. Kaestli, 'Questions de Barthélemy', in ÉAC 1, pp. 255–295; J.-D. Kaestli and P. Cherix, 'Livre de la résurrection de Jésus-Christ par l'apôtre Barthélemy', in ÉAC 1, pp. 297–356.

[12] Lipsius is of the opinion that the work was written originally in Greek and translated into Latin, grounding his thesis on theological analyses of both accounts: Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, pp. 67–70. Bonnet challenges this view by stating the opposite, viz. that the oldest translation (the original text being neither Greek nor Latin) was into Latin, on which the Greek translation depends. M. Bonnet, 'La *Passion de S. Barthélemy*, en quelle langue a-t-elle été écrite?', *Analecta Bollandiana* 14 (1895), 353–366.

[13] Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 65.

[14] The most recent edition is by M. Bonnet (ed.), *Passio sancti Bartholomaei apostoli*, in idem, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 128–150.

tholomew's relics to Lipari can be found in this Latin *Passio*, it seems plausible to date the work before 580.[15]

The *Passion of Bartholomew* situates Bartholomew's mission work in India, where the apostle found shelter in a temple dedicated to the god Astaroth.[16] The *Passion of Bartholomew* describes the combat between the apostle, depicted as a *vir Dei*, and the representatives of the local religion, such as Astaroth[17] and his neighbour Beireth. The local deities are depicted as delusive demons, binding the people to them by making them ill and offering healing only in return for sacrifices. The arrival of the apostle is presented as a release of the people from this vicious circle.[18] From the moment Bartholomew enters the temple of Astaroth and settles there, the people receive no answer from the demon anymore. When asked for advice, the neighbouring deity Beireth declares that the presence of this *amicus Dei* has silenced the god Astaroth. Bartholomew starts to release possessed people, such as a man called Pseustius, and to heal the sick. The local ruler, king Polymius, expresses his trust in the apostle and brings his lunatic daughter to be cured. After the cure, Bartholomew rejects the king's material tokens of gratitude (in the form of gold and precious items), but instead initiates Polymius in the secrets of the Christian religion. In his preaching, the powers of devil / demon and God / apostles are sharply opposed.

Eventually, Bartholomew forces Astaroth to concede publicly his inferiority to the powers of the apostle and to answer overtly the apostle's questions about the true nature of the illnesses of the people. In his 'confession', the demon confirms Bartholomew's preaching:

> For I am bound by fiery bonds by the angels of Jesus Christ. The Jews crucified Him presuming that they could bind Him by death. But He

[15] Lipsius, who reads Nestorian influence into the work, proposes a date of origin between 450 and 550, but this is rather speculative. Cfr Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 71.

[16] On the geography of the Latin *Passio Bartholomaei*, see D. Alibert, 'Vision du monde et imaginaire dans quelques textes de la collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias', *Apocrypha* 11 (2000), 207–226, at 209–211.

[17] Lipsius tries to reconstruct the historical background to the *Passion of Bartholomew* by identifying the names of royals and deities. Astaroth might be interpreted as a male form of the fertility goddess Astarthe. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, pp. 71–72.

[18] A common feature in the apostle narratives in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias; see also chapter 6 below and E. Rose, ' "*Erant enim sine deo vero*": iconoclash in apocryphal and liturgical apostle traditions of the medieval West', in W. van Asselt et al. (eds.), *Iconoclasm and iconoclash: struggle for religious identity* (Leiden-Boston, 2007 = Jewish and Christian perspectives series 14), pp. 217–233.

> himself captivated death, who is our queen, and He bound our king, death's husband, with fiery bonds. And on the third day the conqueror of death and devil resurrected and gave the sign of His cross to His apostles, and sent them to all parts of the world. One of them is here and holds me bound.[19]

As a consequence, the people are easily persuaded to forsake their god and to turn to 'the true God, the creator, who abides in heaven'.[20] The demon is chased away to the wilderness, the temple is cleansed at its four corners and dedicated as a church by angels, while the king and his people are baptized.[21]

However, Astaroth's priests remain faithful to their cult. They turn to the king's brother, Astriges, who captivates the apostle and, after a verbal contest between Bartholomew and Astriges' deities, delivers Bartholomew to strokes of the cane and has him beheaded. In two manuscripts, one dating to the 9th and one to the 12th century, the word *decollari* is corrected as *decoriari*, thus incorporating the Armenian tradition of Bartholomew's flaying, to be discussed below.[22] From 12 cities the people gather to honour Bartholomew with hymns and a funeral, and they build a church in which the apostle's body will rest. King Polymius is, in a revelation by the apostle, appointed bishop, and he guides the Christian community for 20 years in peace.[23]

---

[19] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6 (14): … *ego, qui catenis igneis religatus sum ab angelis Iesu Christi, quem Iudaei crucifixerunt putantes eum posse morte detineri. ille autem ipsam mortem, quae regina nostra est, captiuauit, et ipsum principem nostrum, maritum mortis, uinculis ignitis uinxit et tertia die uictor mortis et diaboli resurrexit et dedit signum crucis suae apostolis suis et misit eos per uniuersas partes saeculi: ex quibus unus hic est qui me uinctum tenet.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 141.

[20] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6 (16): *Audite nunc uerum deum creatorem uestrum qui in caelis habitat.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 143.

[21] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6–8 (17–20). Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 143–147.

[22] Bonnet mentions Wolfenbüttel, Wissenburg 48, and Brussels, 104: Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 149 and xxiv. Some early prints give this later insertion as the manuscript's text; see e.g. B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum* (original edition *c.* 1479; re-edited by the monks of Solesmes in 1910), p. 144, line 33, and p. 629. Nausea adds a note: "Non te moueat lector pie, quod sint, qui velint divus Bartholomaeum fuisse excoriatum, nonnulli vero illum fuisse crucifixum adfirment. Siquidem illorum sic possit dissolui contrarietas. Quoniam ipse divus Bartholomaeus ob maiorem cruciatum primo caesus fuerit deinde crucifixus ac demum antequam in cruce moreretur depositus haud sine magno cruciatu excoriatus et sub finem capite plexus. Ipse cum in magna constantia obiit aduersum eos qui illum angustiarunt. Nec fuit quod ipsum a charitate Christi dimoueret". Nausea, *Anonymi Philalethi*, p. LVI verso. Cfr Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 101.

[23] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9 (24). Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha* 2.1, p. 150.

2.2. *The 'Lycaonian tradition': Bartholomew in Asia Minor*

In the earliest liturgical sources that mention a feast-day of Bartholomew, reference is made to another main tradition concerning this apostle, of Greek origin, situating his missionary work and martyrdom in Lycaonia in Asia Minor. This tradition is found in the Greek *Acts of Philip*, where Bartholomew is introduced as Philip's companion.[24] Whether the apostle Bartholomew is meant (as is suggested in *Acta Philippi* VIII.1),[25] or one of the 70 nameless disciples mentioned in Lk. 10 (as is implied by the final part of the APh, the *Martyrium Philippi*)[26] is not clear, but a fact is that the two figures are merged in the medieval liturgical context.[27] In the *Martyrium Philippi*, Bartholomew's crucifixion in Lycaonia is announced, just before Philip's martyrdom is executed.[28] Although the *Acts of Philip* do not mention Bartholomew's eventual death, the Lycaonian tradition found its way into the liturgical traditions on Bartholomew, where crucifixion is mentioned as one of the 'Todesarten' of the apostle Bartholomew. This will become clear in the discussion of the liturgical sources below.

2.3. *The Armenian tradition: Bartholomew flayed alive*

There is yet another tradition on Bartholomew's martyrdom which resounds in the liturgical sources, telling that the apostle was skinned alive at the command of king Astargis, in the city Albanopolis in Great-Armenia.[29] This tradition is found in the Armenian account of Bartholomew's martyrdom, which is transmitted in various sources from AD 600 onwards.[30] Bartholomew was crucial to the church in

[24] Van Esbroeck briefly discusses the role Bartholomew plays in the *Acts of Philip*: Van Esbroeck, 'Chronique arménienne', p. 429. The *Acts of Philip* are dated to the turn from the 4th to the 5th century, and can be situated in an ascetic, if not encratite, milieu in Phrygia, Asia Minor. The finding of a nearly complete manuscript on Mount Athos was of great importance to the study of the encratite movement. Thus Frédéric Amsler in F. Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe. Introduction, notes et traductions* (Turnhout, 1996), p. 14.

[25] *Acta Philippi* VIII.1. F. Bovon et al. (eds.), *Acta Philippi. Textus* (Turnhout, 1999 = CCSA 11), p. 239.

[26] *Martyrium Philippi*, c. 2. Bovon et al. (eds.), *Acta Philippi* (CCSA 11), pp. 342–431, at 343–344.

[27] As is the case more often; cfr the example of Philip in the next chapter.

[28] *Martyrium Philippi*, c. 36, pp. 410–411 and c. 31, pp. 396–397. See chapter 3.2.

[29] Leloir (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres* (CCSA 4), pp. 479–482.

[30] M. Van Esbroeck, 'The rise of saint Bartholomew's cult in Armenia from the

Armenia from the 7th century onwards, where he was considered as the local founder and patron.[31] The tradition of his skinning might be of Persian origin, as flaying alive was a Persian death sentence.[32] It had a broad dissemination in eastern (Greek and Syrian) and western sources.[33] The oldest preserved written sources are in Latin, namely the *Breviarium apostolorum* and Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum*, as will be shown in the following section.[34]

3. *Lists of apostles and martyrologies*

3.1. Breviarium apostolorum

The first document in the West that mentions Bartholomew's liturgical commemoration is the *Breviarium apostolorum*:[35]

> The apostle Bartholomew received a Syrian name, meaning: son of him that bears waters. He preached in Lycaonia. In the end he was skinned alive by the barbarians in Albanopolis, Great-Armenia, and, at the command of king Astargis, beheaded and buried on 24 August.[36]

seventh to the thirteenth centuries', in T. Samuelian and M. Stone (eds.), *Medieval Armenian culture* (Chico, Calif., 1984), pp. 161–178, at 167.

[31] Van Esbroeck, 'La naissance du culte', pp. 187–188; idem, 'The rise of Bartholomew's cult'.

[32] Van Esbroeck suggests a connection between the skinning of Bartholomew and that of Mani. Van Esbroeck, 'Chronique arménienne', pp. 428–449, following J. Markwart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 428–449. On flaying as a punishment in the medieval West see S. Kay, 'Original skin: flaying, reading, and thinking in the legend of saint Bartholomew and other works', *The Journal of medieval and early modern studies* 36 (2006), 35–73.

[33] Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostellegenden*, vol. 2.2, p. 103; Leloir (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres* (CCSA 4), p. 489.

[34] According to Leloir, the first Greek written witness dates to the 8th century. Leloir (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres* (CCSA 4), pp. 480–481.

[35] According to Kennedy, the name of the apostle Bartholomew is mentioned already in the *Depositio martyrum*, a Roman list of martyrs' feasts dating to AD 354, but I did not find this. V.L. Kennedy, *The saints of the canon of the mass* (Rome, 1938), p. 106.

[36] *Breviarium apostolorum*: *Bartholomeus apostolus nomen ex sira lingua suscepit, interpretatur filius suspendentis aquas; liconiam predicauit; ad ultimum in albanum maioris arminiae urbe uiuens, a barbaris decoriatus adque per iussum regis astragis decollatus, sique terre conditu VIIII kal. Septembris.* Dumas and Deshusses (eds.), *Sacramentarium Gellonense*, 3033 (CCSL 159), p. 490. De Gaiffier, 'Le Breviarium', pp. 106–107, follows the version in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Different versions in the Eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentaries give different dates: the Gellonensis, followed here, gives 24 August; the *Sacramentarium Engolismense*, 2031l, gives 25 August. Heiming (ed.), CCSL 159B, p. 261.

3.2. De ortu et obitu patrum

The *Breviarium* is the earliest, but not the only indication that the Armenian tradition circulated in the West. A similar phrasing is found in the treatise *De ortu et obitu patrum*, generally attributed to Isidore of Seville. Here Bartholomew's preaching activity *apud Indos* is added as well as his translation of the gospel *iuxta Matheum*:

> The apostle Bartholomew received a Syrian name, and in the division of the preaching he took upon him the region of Lycaonia. And he translated the gospel according to Matthew in the language of the Indians. Finally he was skinned alive by the barbarians in the city Albanopolis in Great-Armenia and buried.[37]

De ortu et obitu goes back to Eusebius, who mentions Bartholomew's Indian mission together with his predilection for Matthew's gospel in his *Church History*.[38]

3.3. *Medieval martyrologies: Bede, Florus, Ado, Usuard, and Hrabanus Maurus*

A fusion of the traditions on Bartholomew discussed in the previous section appears in the martyrologies of the early Middle Ages, which show a variety of traditions, partly incorporating the apocryphal material, partly following the path of the *Breviarium apostolorum* and the *De ortu et obitu*. Bede is the first to mention Bartholomew's martyrdom in India in his martyrology: *VIIII Kl. Sep. In India, natale sancti Bartholomaei apostoli*.[39] The tradition of historiated martyrologies is continued in the Carolingian 9th century. Four important texts of this period must be mentioned: the martyrologies of Florus of Lyons, of Ado of Vienne, of Usuard, monk in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and of Hrabanus Maurus. Ado († 875), monk and later bishop of the archdiocese of Vienne,

---

[37] Isidorus, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, c. 74: *Bartholomeus, apostolus, nomen ex Syra lingua suscipiens, Lycaoniam in sorte praedicationis accepit atque euangelium iuxta Matheum apud Indos in eorum lingua conuertit. Ad ultimum in Albano Maioris Armeniae urbe uiuens a barbaris decoriatus sicque terrae conditus*. Chaparro Gómez (ed.), *De ortu et obitu patrum*, p. 211.

[38] Eusebius of Ceasarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V.10. Further material on the connection between Bartholomew and Matthew is found in the legend on Matthew in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias; see chapter 4.

[39] *Martyrologium Bedae*. H. Quentin (ed.), *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1908), p. 54.

wrote his martyrology presumably in the 850s.[40] He made ample use of the martyrology attributed to his contemporary Florus († *c.* 860), archdeacon of Lyons in the tumultuous time of Agobard and Amalarius (see chapter 1).[41] Ado's martyrology was very influential throughout the Middle Ages, and it became an important source for later martyrologies, such as Usuard's (see below).[42] In composing his text, Ado not only incorporated the work of several of his predecessors, such as Florus, but also added new material in order to provide the monasteries with sufficient information on the saints that were celebrated in his day.[43] The entry on Bartholomew, where Ado follows Florus literally,[44] shows similarities with Bede in mentioning India as Bartholomew's mission area. Different from the *Breviarium apostolorum* and Isidore, it names decapitation, instead of skinning. Moreover, Ado incorporates the tradition of the relics translation to Lipari as well as the more recent translation to Benevento:

> 24 August. The apostle Bartholomew. The *natale* of the blessed apostle Bartholomew, who, preaching the gospel of Christ in India, fulfilled his martyrdom by decapitation. And the most holy remains of the apostle, translated first to the island Lipari, near Sicily, and hence to Benevento, is celebrated with pious veneration of the faithful.[45]

Ado's entry is copied in the *Martyrology of Usuard*, composed after Ado's model between 857 and Usuard's death in 877.[46]

Hrabanus Maurus's martyrology was composed in 843. Although in general it is dependent on the work of Bede,[47] in the case of Bartholomew it is entirely in line with the *Breviarium*:

---

[40] J. Dubois (ed.), *Le Martyrologe d'Adon: ses deux familles, ses trois recensions* (Paris, 1984), pp. xv, xx.

[41] Quentin (ed.), *Les martyrologes historiques*, pp. 222–408; in this and the following chapters I use the more recent edition by J. Dubois and G. Renaud, *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'anonyme Lyonnais et de Florus* (Paris, 1976).

[42] Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, p. ix.

[43] Ibid., pp. xx–xxii.

[44] Dubois and G. Renaud (eds.), *Édition pratique des martyrologes*, p. 155.

[45] Ado, *Martyrologium*: *IX. Kalend. septemb. Bartholomaeus apostolus. Natale beati Bartholomaei apostoli, qui apud Indiam Christi evangelium praedicans, decollatione martyrium complevit. Huius apostoli sacratissimum corpus primum ad insulam Liparis, quae Sicilia vicina est, deinde Beneventum translatum pia fidelium veneratione celebratur*. Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 7.

[46] J. Dubois (ed.), *Le martyrologe d'Usuard* (Brussels, 1965 = Subsidia hagiographica 40), p. 289.

[47] R. Kottje, 'Hrabanus Maurus, literarisches Werk', in LMA V, cols. 145–146.

> 24 August. Feast-day of the apostle Bartholomew, who received a Syrian name, meaning: son of him that bears waters. He preached in Lycaonia. In the end he was skinned alive by the barbarians in Albanopolis, Great-Armenia, and, beheaded at the command of king Astargis, buried on 24 August.[48]

The martyrologies show that different traditions on Bartholomew were collected in the early medieval period. The same goes for the liturgical texts *stricto sensu*: the prayers, chants and hymns for eucharist and office, to be discussed in the following sections.

4. *The liturgy of mass*

With respect to the cult of the apostle Bartholomew, legendary narrative and poetic sources preceded liturgical documentation of the commemoration of this apostle. Prayers for his feast-day are found in manuscripts from the mid-8th century onwards (although these written documents might, as we will see, go back to earlier traditions). The liturgy of the hours is first documented in an 11th-century manuscript. The influence of the apocryphal traditions on Bartholomew in the liturgical sources is analysed in the following sections, to begin with the eucharistic liturgy.

4.1. *Gaul*

The oldest preserved manuscripts transmitting texts for the eucharistic liturgy that contain prayers for Bartholomew's feast-day are found in Gaul where the 'Eighth-century Gelasiana' are the first to offer a mass ordo for this commemoration. The different manuscripts belonging to this tradition are closely connected, and the prayer texts in the diverse representatives show little variation, so that we can speak of 'the' Eighth-century Gelasian mass ordo for Bartholomew.[49] The

[48] Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*: *VIIII Kal. Sept. Natale Bartholomei apostoli, qui nomen ex Syra lingua suscepit et interpraetatur "filius suspendentis aquas", Licaoniam praedicavit. Ad ultimum in Albono Maioris Armeniae urbe uiuens a barbaris decoriatus atque per iussum regis Astragis decollatus, sicque terrae conditus VIIII kal. Septembris. J. McCulloh (ed.), Rabani Mauri Martyrologium* (Turnhout, 1979 = CCCM 44), pp. 84–85.

[49] It can be found in *Sacramentarium Gellonense*, Dumas and Deshusses (eds.), CCSL 159, pp. 181–182; *Sacramentarium Engolismense*, Saint Roch (ed.), CCSL 159C, p. 186; and *Sacramentarium Sangallense*, Mohlberg (ed.), *Das fränkische Sacramentarium*, pp. 172–173.

prayers in this ordo do not pay any attention to characteristics of the saint's life and deeds as transmitted in the apocryphal writings on this apostle. The texts are rather general prayers that could be used for any apostle, asking for his help (*auxilium*) and benediction (*beneficia*), teaching (*eruditio*) and protection (*protegere, patrocinio, defensio*).

4.2. *Spain*

The liturgy of early medieval Spain offers a more interesting set of texts for the liturgical commemoration of Bartholomew, in which many aspects of the apostle's *Passio* occur. Two of the most important testimonies from different stages of the Old Spanish liturgy are discussed in the following.

The *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*

Characteristic of the Spanish liturgy is the narrative style that pays ample attention to biographical elaborations.[50] This is visible in the mass in honour of Bartholomew in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, consisting of nine long prayers in which the apostle's missionary work is the most important theme. An analysis of the most prominent prayers of this mass, the *inlatio* (LMS 843) and the prayer *post Sanctus* (LMS 844), follows here.

In the *inlatio*, meaning '(prayer of) sacrifice',[51] Bartholomew is presented as a model apostle: he founded the Christian doctrine through

[50] King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, pp. 478, 486; Cabrol, 'Mozarabe (la liturgie)', cols. 483–484.

[51] The part of the eucharistic prayer that precedes the sung *Sanctus* and the words of institution. The full text follows here; passages to be discussed more elaborately are marked with numbers 1–10: *Inlatio. Dignum et iustum est, uere satis equum et pulchrum est, nos tibi gratias agere, teque in sanctorum martyrum uictoriis conlaudare, domine, sancte pater, eterne omnipotens deus, per Iesum Christum filium tuum dominum nostrum. Dignius tamen nimiumque dignius in eorum festiuitatibus, qui ex ore unigeniti tui ueritati⟨s⟩ flumina haurire meruerunt totum per orbem manantia. Hii etenim a Christo unigenito tuo, et uerbis edocti, et spiritu sancto repleti, euangelicam ueritatem, quasi magna in firmamento luminaria, toto in mundo ructarunt, et prophetico illo tanto ante predicto in illis impleto, celi narrauerunt gloriam dei. Unde in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terre uerba illorum. Isti igitur in uictoriis suis precipue in laudibus sunt habendi, et ut aecclesiae fundatores et catholice fidei ducatores cuncti apostoli celebrandi; quia cum sit laudabile semel cognitam fidem usque ad sanguinem uindicare, excellentius tamen est hanc, in primordiis spiritus sancti concepta, aliis tradere, et post, pro illa, ut isti egerunt, sanguinem fundere. E quibus iste hodie sanctus Bartholomeus, Christi filii tui et domini nostri discipulus, uniuerse ecclesie celebrandus occurrit; qui doctrinam, quam miraculis et predicamentis instituit, hanc etiam effusione sanguinis laureauit; et*

miracles and preaching and honoured it with his own blood. He went out to preach the gospel 'as the lamb under the wolfs, possessing both the serpent's prudence and the dove's simplicity', words with which Jesus sent out his disciples according to Mt. 10:16.[52] The prayer continues to relate how Bartholomew showed his miraculous acts to the people and silenced the god Astaroth. Bartholomew threw out demons 'on the authority of Christ' and following his Master's example (*exemplis sequens dominum Iesum Christum, imperio suo demonia eiicit*). He sentenced the demons to the chains and forced them to speak the truth, he destroyed idols by the power of his word, while at the same time submitting himself willingly to suffering when he fell into the hands of the demon's adherents. Finally, the apostle who had raised the dead was beheaded for the Lord. Bartholomew is, in this respect, compared to his Master, who similarly both gave life to humankind and suffered death on its behalf.

---

regulam, quam didicit domino passo, hanc ceteris completam ostendit mirabiliter in se ipso. Et qui uniuerse terre dominum et totius ueritatis magistrum pependisse nouerat in ligno, dignum habuit se ipsum offerri morte pro illo; et uerus agnus inter luporum multitudinem missus, serpentis prudentiam possidens pariter et columbe simplicitatem, miracula ostendit in populis, iudicia sustinet questionis. Qui presentia sua Astaroth idolum non sinit dare responsum (1), et blasphemantium uerba patitur (6). Exemplis sequens dominum Iesum Christum, imperio suo demonia ei⟨i⟩cit (2), et persequentium ire se subdit (6), demones catenis addicit (3), et se ipsum de iudicio non absoluit (6). Veritatem predicare demones inperat (4), et a demoniorum discipulis se teneri permittit (6). Verbo simulacra confringit (5), et persequentium cuneos sustinendo, se de passione non redemit (6). Virtutibus gloriosus habetur (8), et fustibus ceditur (7); mortuos suscitat (9), et pro domino decollatur (7). Simili modo, ut dominus, qui tecum et cum spiritu sancto omnia ineffabiliter condidit, et se cruci pro peccatoribus tradidit. Unde quis nostrum his se dignum iudicet laudibus? Quis dignus tuis adesse queat altaribus? Quia quum nostrum huic sacrosancto ministerio impar sit meritum, non aliter a nobis plane nisi indigne presumitur sacerdotium. Sed, si non nisi minister dignus inquiritur, cesset necesse est ministerium, nec inuenietur qui digne offerat sacrificium. Ergo, arbiter uniuersitatis et conditor, quia iniunctio officii necessitate altaribus tuis indigni adstare cogimur, beati Bartholomei apostoli et martyris meritis, quesumus, a sordibus expiemur, et sicut templum Astaroth a demonibus reddidit liberum, illudque tibi consecrauit per spiritum sanctum (5), ita nos a piaculis soluat, et coram te in ministerio tuo dignos effici[a]t (10). Reseret arcana pectoris nostri predicationibus Christi filii tui et propriis, et quidquid nostrum est, instruat miraculis pariter et exemplis; ut dum sacerdotum eius precibus dignum coram te habueris sacrificium, totum aecclesiae tuae iustifices cetum, et te solum deum credere, teque laudare doceas populum uniuersum. Ut illa uox incessabilis, que ter sonat in celis ab angelis, et sanctorum omnium cum uocibus proclamatur in terris, in nostris quotidie declaretur officiis, ut te sanctorum omnium sanctum cum angelis choris, cum sanctorum turmis, et omnium conlaudantium uocibus pariter conlaudemus, atque dicamus: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus. Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, pp. 298–300.

[52] *Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum; estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae*. Cfr Lk. 10:3, where the words 'Ite ecce ego mitto vos sicut agnus inter lupos' are directed to the Seventy, whereas the quotation from Mt. 10 belongs to the sending of the Twelve.

The ingredients for the composition of this prayer are for the greater part found in the Latin *Passio Bartholomaei*, as the following analysis shows.[53]

(1) Astaroth idolum non sinit dare responsum

The name of the god Astaroth and the way Bartholomew's presence silenced him (*Qui presentia sua Astaroth idolum non sinit dare responsum*) are both reported in the *Passion of Bartholomew*, c. 2:

> And it happened that while the holy apostle Bartholomew remained there, *Astaroth did not give any answer* (...).[54]

(2) imperio suo demonia eiicit

The *Passio* recounts various cases of Bartholomew's power to throw out demons, such as the delivery of Pseustius (c. 6) and of the king's daughter (c. 7). The image of chains (*catenis*), in which the king's daughter was bound, recurs many times in the liturgical prayers, as becomes clear from the following phrase:

(3) demones catenis addicit

The *Passio* recalls how Bartholomew sentenced the demons to the chains (c. 3.7). In this chapter, the apostle states: 'I have already bound the enemy ...'.[55] And further on in c. 6.13, the apostle claims: 'But since that demon, that was in this statue, was held by me in chains, he could not answer to those who came to sacrifice and to adore him'.[56]

(4) veritatem predicare demones inperat

As he promised the king, Bartholomew forces the demon to tell the truth about his inability to speak to the people as before and to confess that he himself caused the illness of the people and 'released' them from it (*Passion of Bartholomew*, c. 6.14–15). The demon admits that he is held in chains of fire[57] and that he is bound in burning chains ever since Bartholomew arrived in the temple. The demon confesses that it is this same apostle who now forces him to tell the truth.[58]

---

[53] References to the *Passio Bartholomaei* are to Bonnet's edition in *Acta apocrypha apostolorum*, vol. 2.1.

[54] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 2: ... *unde factum est ut sancto Bartholomaeo apostolo ibi manente nulla responsa daret Astaroth*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 129.

[55] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 3.7: *Iam ego uinctum teneo inimicum*... Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 133.

[56] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.13: *Sed quia ipse daemon qui in ipsa statua erat a me uinctus tenetur, sacrificantibus et se adorantibus nullum potest dare responsum*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 140.

[57] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.14: *ego, qui catenis igneis religatus sum*... Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 141.

[58] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.15: ... *a die qua eius discipulus huc uenit apostolus Bartholomaeus*

(5) verbo simulacra confringit—templum Astaroth a demonibus reddidit liberum, illudque tibi consecrauit per spiritum sanctum

After the demon's confession, Bartholomew encourages and helps the people to destroy the idol.[59] With the help of an angel, the people turn Astaroth's temple into a *templum* dedicated to the name of Christ.[60]

(6) blasphemantium uerba patitur—persequentium ire se subdit—se ipsum de iudicio non absoluit—a demoniorum discipulis se teneri permittit—persequentium cuneos sustinendo, se de passione non redemit

The prayer refers to the continuation of the *Passio* after king Polymius has been baptized with his family and his people, when the demons, dispelled from Astaroth's temple, incite king Astriges to take revenge.[61] The apostle offers no resistance to their torments: he is bound (*uinctum*) and brought before Astriges to undergo his martyrdom.

(7) fustibus ceditur—pro domino decollatur

The apostle is beaten with sticks and beheaded.[62] In this central passage about the apostle's passion and martyrdom, the prayer text follows the Latin *Passio* word for word.

(8) virtutibus gloriosus habetur

The prayer refers to the way the people bury their apostle through whom they have received their faith; how they build a basilica over the grave and praise Bartholomew with hymns and honour him and his body.[63]

From the analysis above, it is clear that the prayers follow the Latin *Passio* very closely, in many instances even verbatim. The liturgical text mentions one important qualification of the apostle that cannot be found in the *Passio*: (9) *mortuos suscitat*. It is possible that the compiler of the prayer made use of other legendary sources here. However, the most plausible explanation for this is that 'the power to raise the dead'

---

ardentibus catenis strictus consumor, et ideo loquor quia iussit mihi. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 142.

59 *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.16: … *deponite idolum hoc et confringite*… Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 143.

60 *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 7.18–19. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 144–147.

61 *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 4.21–22. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 147–148.

62 *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.23: *rex* … *fecit fustibus caedi sanctum apostolum Bartholomaeum, caesum autem iussit decollari*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 149.

63 Cfr *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.24. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 149.

is a general characteristic of an apostle, based on Mt. 10:8: 'Cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons. You received without payment; give without payment' (NRSV).

The list of references to the *Passion of Bartholomew* is followed by a concluding prayer: 'That the apostle likewise may release us from our sins, and may make us worthy to participate in the ministry of the liturgy' (10). This phrase indicates that the prayer does more than only digest the apocryphal material: the prayer also actualizes this material to make it useful and meaningful in its context. The prayer, paying so much attention to the apocryphal narrative relating the capture of the demonic powers, ultimately transforms this narrative and actualizes the story of liberation from idolatry into a supplication for forgiveness of sins and deliverance from the inner demonic powers in the hearts of the faithful. Similar examples of transformation and actualization will be discussed in the following.

The prayer *post Sanctus* (LMS 844), following the sung *Sanctus*, offers some remarkable descriptions of the apostles', specifically Bartholomew's, imitation of Christ. The entire text goes as follows:

> Truly holy, truly glorious is he, our Lord Jesus Christ your son, who is born from you, God the father, before light was made; at the end of time he took on flesh on behalf of his humble servants, so that he, as a man, endured the derision of the passion, and, as a powerful God, rose again from the dead. And upon the word of his calling the apostles abandoned all that bound them to the earth, and, ignoring all sorrows of this world, they hastened to follow him with elevated spirit. And leaning on his miraculous power they glorified him through their miracles, and they subdued themselves ultimately to their own martyrdom. But what he did as a God-made-man was done as well by the apostles as men, but with the help and inspiration of God. Hence the holy apostle Bartholomew binds the demons with his word, and he commands them to speak for the time being. For Christ, our Lord your only-begotten son had granted to him and the others to do this frequently by pouring out the holy Spirit, that they do well: he heals the sick by laying on hands, for the holy Spirit, who lives in him and whom he received from your only-begotten, operates this in him. Therefore, what wonder if he procures these and similar things, who is manifestly shown to have received the holy Spirit, and is believed and acknowledged to possess the power to bind and loose sins; and who, after having accomplished all this powerfully, humbly subjected his neck to the sword, called up to martyrdom by the example of his Master and our Lord. For it was not justified that one of the disciples differed from his Lord and Master in the struggle of the passion, but that he who showed himself similar to him by his miracles, also became similar by his martyrdom. Therefore our Bartholomew shines

[as a star] in the entire world, and he is placed with the other disciples on the twelve thrones, as judges in the kingdom. Through Christ.[64]

In the first part of the prayer, a general reflection is given on the imitation of Christ by the apostles. There is one striking difference:

(1) ... sed quod ille egit deus effectus homo, hoc isti egerunt homines, iuuante et inspirante deo

... but what [Christ] did as a God-made-man was done as well by [the apostles] as men, but with the help and inspiration of God.

This phrase seems to suggest that the incarnation of God in Jesus is mirrored in the countermovement of Jesus's disciples becoming god-like, at least being bestowed with equal powers. These powers, which in Bartholomew take shape in his domination over demons and the ability to heal people by the imposition of hands, is due to the indwelling of the holy Spirit in the apostle, which he received from the Son (2). In miracles and passion, the disciples equal their master, as they do in the authority to bind and loose sins, which was clearly not confined to the apostle Peter alone (cfr Mt. 16:19). Similarly, the apostles are united in heaven, where they are seated on 12 thrones to judge (3) (Mt. 19:28).

The analysis of the Old Spanish mass ordo for the apostle Bartholomew, one of the oldest masses in honour of the apostle, brings to light a number of important observations and questions. The connection between the liturgical texts and the 6th-century Latin *Passio Bartholomaei* is remarkably strong: the text of the *Passio* recurs many times literally in the liturgical prayers. In the prayers, the apostle is

[64] Again, numbers (1–3) are added to those passages that are discussed more elaborately below: *Post Sanctus. Vere sanctus et uere gloriosus dominus noster Iesus Christus filius tuus: qui a te, deus pater, ante luciferum genitus est; in seculorum fine pro seruulis incarnatus, ut homo ludibria passionis sustinuit, et ut deus potens a mortuis resurrexit. Cuius uerbo uocationis audito, apostoli mundana omnia reliquerunt, et, spretis temporalibus curis, ad sequendum illum alacri animo festinarunt. Cuius freti uirtute miraculis clarent, et se ultro passionibus subdunt, sed quod ille egit deus effectus homo, hoc isti egerunt homines, iuuante et inspirante deo (1). Unde sanctus iste Bartholomeus apostolus uerbo demonas ligat, eosque pro tempore eloqui imperat, quia hoc illi cum ceteris Christus et dominus noster unigeni*[tus] *tuus tradendo spiritum sanctum actitare concesserat, ut bene habeant; manus inpositione sanat egrotos, quia habitans in illo hoc operatur acceptus ab unigenito tuo spiritus sanctus (2). Quid ergo mirum si hec et talia operatur, qui manifestum spiritum sanctum accepisse monstratur, et ligandi et soluendi peccata possidere potestatem creditur et fatetur; et qui ista omnia potens operatus, post, humilis collum subicit gladio qui ad passionem magistri sui et domini nostri prouocatus exemplo? Nec fas erat ut aliquis discipulorum in passionis agone a suo discreparet domino et magistro, sed qui similia eis* [ei] *se ostendebatur miraculis, similis etiam passione fieret mortis. Unde noster iste sicut* ⟨*sidus*⟩ *Bartholomeus toto claret in mundo, et cum ceteris condiscipulis in duodecim sedibus iudicans conlocatur in regno (3). Per Christum.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 300.

portrayed as a man with divine strength, commanding demons and releasing the people from demonic powers. The local religious cult is literally replaced by the new Christian religion, of which the apostle is the founder. In Old Testament images, the old religion is depicted as slavery and false deception, while the new religion stands for liberation and truth. The pagan temple is dedicated as a church. After Bartholomew's death, the apostle's burial place forms the cult centre of the new Christian community. The apostle's imitation of Christ is stressed, both in procuring miracles and suffering pains and death. Additionally, more general aspects of the apostles as a group are phrased, such as their shared power to bind and loose sins, their role as judges in the heavenly kingdom, and the way they equal Christ in his godliness. The relation between the cults of individual apostles and the veneration of the apostles as a group in the Middle Ages will be discussed further in chapter 6.

The *Sacramentarium Vicennense*

The *Sacramentary of Vich*, compiled in 1038,[65] gives an entirely different impression of the liturgical commemoration of the apostle Bartholomew in Spain. The book is an example of the so-called 'Gelasiano-Gregorian sacramentary'. This term indicates a kind of book that was in use in different regions from the 10th century onwards and that was a mixture of the *Gregorianum Hadranum* (with the supplement added to it presumably by Benedict of Aniane [† 821] between 810–815 in order to adapt the book to the customs of the Frankish realms) and the Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries.[66] The *Vicennense* is an early example of the waning on the Iberian peninsula of the Old Spanish rite in favour of a romanized liturgy. The Benedictine monasteries, especially Cluny, played an important role in the dissemination of Roman liturgical customs to different regions south of the Pyrenees.[67] The indigenous liturgy eventually disappeared from general use, only to survive in a few places.[68]

---

65 King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, p. 506.

66 Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 102–104.

67 Pinell, 'Mozarabische liturgie', col. 1800.

68 King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, pp. 503–515; B.F. Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter. The reception of the Roman liturgy in Léon-Castille in 1080* (New York, 1985); C.J. Bishko, 'Liturgical intercession at Cluny for the king-emperors of Léon', *Studia monastica* 3 (1961), 53–76.

The *Sacramentary of Vich* contains a mass ordo for the apostle Bartholomew consisting of five prayers.[69] Four of them are rather general texts, which could be used for the commemoration of any apostle. The *praefatio*, however,[70] is an interesting piece, worthy of a fuller analysis. First the translation is given here:

> *Preface*. It is truly worthy [to praise you], eternal God, who has deigned to endow your apostle Bartholomew with such great gifts of your mercy, that your holy church repeatedly sings the praises of his miracles. For the angels always accompanied him and they protected him from all evil. And therefore, during most of his lifetime his clothes were not ripped nor were his sandals broken. And he suffered to be flayed alive and then to be put to death, in order to show us the way through the example of his life, and to enter the heavenly home where he was to rejoice in eternity. Through Christ.[71]

This text is clearly influenced by various apocryphal and other early Christian traditions on Bartholomew. The Latin *Passio* resounds in the reference to the apostle's angelic company, which protected him from every kind of harm and even guarded his clothes and shoes from wear. In the *Passio Bartholomei*, the demon Beireth includes in his description of Bartholomew[72] the remarkable observation that this *amicus Dei* kept his clothes (*uestimenta*) clean and like new for 26 years, and his sandals (*sandalia*) as good as new for the same period.[73] In the same passage,

[69] *Sacramentarium Vicennense*, 597–601. A. Olivar (ed.), *El sacramentario de Vich* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1953 = Monumenta Hispaniae sacra. Serie litúrgica 4), pp. 86–87.

[70] The *praefatio* in the Roman mass ordo serves as an introduction to the fixed part of the eucharistic prayer, the canon of mass. It is the only variable part of the eucharistic prayer changing per feast-day, comparable to the Spanish *inlatio* and the Gallican *immolatio* or *contestatio*.

[71] *Sacramentarium Vicennense*, 600. *Praefatio. Vere Dignum. Aeterne deus. Qui beato Bartolomeo apostolo tuo tanta tuae munera gratiae es dignatus conferre, ut sancta ecclesia tua frequenter de ipsius miraculis glorietur. Semper enim cum eo comitabantur angeli, qui illum ab omnibus tuebantur aduersis. Ideoque plurimis suae uitae temporibus nec suae uestes sunt scissae, nec sandalia quidem disrupta. Qui uiuens decoriari sustinuit et demum capite plecti, ut nobis callem uite suae exemplo hostenderet, et superam patriam perpetuo gauisurus intraret. Per Christum.* Olivar (ed.), *El sacramentario de Vich*, p. 87.

[72] Physical portraits of the apostle occur more often in the apocryphal Acts: F. Bovon, 'Canonical and apocryphal Acts of apostles', *Journal of early Christian studies* 11 (2003), 165–194, at 185–186. See also B. Bischoff on the medieval use of apostle portraits: B. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris erudiri* 6 (1954), 189–281. Reprinted *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1966), 205–275, at 228–229.

[73] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 2.4–5: 'And the demon answered and said: "His hair is black

the demon Beireth declares that Bartholomew is accompanied by the 'angels of God [who] do not permit that he becomes tired, or hungry'. Both notions recur in the *praefatio*. Moreover, this prayer is an important witness to the tradition of Bartholomew being flayed alive. It is not surprising that this element occurs in a liturgical prayer, since the dissemination of the tradition of Bartholomew's skinning, particularly in Spain, is attested by Isidore's *De ortu et obitu sanctorum*, as has been shown above.

---

and curled, his skin is white, his eyes are large, his nose is smooth and straight, his ears are covered by his hair, his long beard has a few grey hairs, he is of average stature that cannot be considered tall nor short. He is dressed in a white tunic embroidered with purple, and he wears a white mantle which has on the four corners each a single gem. For twenty-six years his clothes were not polluted and have never worn out. Similarly his sandals with broad thongs have never, for twenty-six years, worn out. He prays to God a hundred times per day, while genuflecting, and a hundred times per night. His voice is powerful like a trumpet. Angels of God accompany him and do not permit that he becomes tired, or hungry. He maintains always the same expression and the same mood. He is always cheerful and happy, he foresees everything, he knows everything, he speaks and understands every language of all the peoples. And behold, what you ask me, and what I give as an answer about him, he knows it already: the angels of God serve him and they inform him. And when you start to look for him, if he wants, he will show himself to you, if he does not want it, you will not be able to see him"'. *Respondit daemon et dixit: Capilli capitis nigri et crispi, caro candida, oculi grandes, nares aequales et directae, aures coopertae crine capitis, barba prolixa habens paucos canos, statura aequalis quae nec longa possit nec breuis aduerti. Vestitur colobio albo clauato purpura, induitur pallio albo per singulos angulos habentem singulas gemmas purpureas. XX et VI anni sunt quod numquam sordidantur uestimenta eius, numquam ueterescunt. Similiter et sandalia eius amentis latis per XXVI annos numquam ueterescunt. Centies flexis genibus per diem, centies per noctem orat deum. Vox eius quasi tuba uehemens est. Ambulant cum eo angeli dei qui non eum permittunt fatigari, non esurire. Semper eodem uultu, eodem animo perseuerat. Omni hora hilaris et laetus permanet, omnia prouidet, omnia nouit, omnem linguam omnium gentium et loquitur et intellegit. Ecce et hoc quod uos interrogastis et quod ego do responsum de eo iam nouit: angeli dei famulantur ei et ipsi nuntiant ei. Et cum coeperitis eum quaerere, si uult, ostendet se uobis, si non uult, non poteritis uidere eum.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 131–132. Various features in this portrait are noticeable: the even-tempered nature in expression and inward of the apostle (cfr *Vita Martini* XXVII.1–2); the apostle's ability to understand all languages of the world (cfr chapter 3.4); and the wear-resistance of his clothes for 26 years. See Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, pp. 75–76. The translators of this *Passio* in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* draw a parallel between the *Passion of Bartholomew* and the *Quaestiones Bartholomaei* concerning the spiritual nourishment of the apostle by the angels that accompany him (ÉAC 2, p. 797 footnote 4).

4.3. *Italy*

Fragments

The spread of Bartholomew's relics to the southern area of the Italian mainland explains the presence of a mass ordo in various liturgical sources of Benevento from the 11th century onwards. In the 10th and 11th centuries, the church in Benevento, which became a separate archbishopric in 969,[74] used an early form of plenary missal, i.e. a book in which not only prayers but also the readings and chants for mass are collected.[75] Only one complete manuscript, from the late 11th century, has been preserved: the so-called *Missale Beneventanum of Canosa*.[76] For the rest there are only fragments, most of which are from an earlier date than the *Canosa Missal*. The fragments are partly put together in an edition by Klaus Gamber.[77]

One of these fragments, saved in a manuscript of the Escorial and dating to the turn from the 10th to the 11th century, contains a unique set of prayers for the commemoration of the transfer (*translatio*) of Bartholomew's relics from the East to the island Lipari. Two of the prayers are general texts for the commemoration of any apostle, but the first prayer contains a particular tradition on the fate of Bartholomew's relics:

> God, who wanted the body of your apostle Bartholomew, while its coffin was carried in the face of the waves, to be transferred from India to Lipari for the benefit of the Italians, grant, we beseech you, that we are protected by the patronage of him whose relics we celebrate with praises. Through [Christ].[78]

---

[74] Gamber, 'Die mittelitalienisch-beneventanischen Plenarmissalien', p. 265. Loud labels this foundation as a papal statement in the competition between Rome and Constantinople. By binding the city of Benevento in loyalty to Rome, Pope John XIII attempted to create more papal influence in the south of Italy to the detriment of the Byzantine emperor. G.A. Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman conquest* (Harlow, 2000), p. 38.

[75] Gamber, 'Mittelitalienisch-beneventanische Plenarmissalien', p. 267.

[76] Rehle (ed.), *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa*. The assumption that the missal was in use in the church of Canosa is inspired by the presence of masses for the dedication of a church in Canosa, and one for the commemoration of Sabinus, bishop of this city. Ibid., p. 18.

[77] Gamber, 'Mittelitalienisch-beneventanische Plenarmissalien', pp. 265–285.

[78] *Oratio. Deus, qui apostoli tui Bartholomei corpus, arca eius contra fluctus gestantes, ex India in Liparim pro salute italorum transire uoluisti, concede, quaesumus, ut illius patrocinio tueamur,*

In the description of the travels of Bartholomew's relics, the prayer clearly deviates from Gregory of Tours's version, which appointed Asia as Bartholomew's mission field, not India, as demonstrated above. But it corresponds to Gregory in emphasizing the miraculous power of the waves to bear the leaden coffin through the storms.

Canosa Missal

The Missal of Canosa itself contains two masses for Bartholomew, one without further specification and one in commemoration of the translation of his relics.[79] The first mass ordo, *Missa in sancto Bartholomeo*, is presumably written for the commemoration of Bartholomew's *natale*, since in the first prayer the instrument of the apostle's martyrdom is mentioned:

> Grant us, your faithful servants, o Lord, we beseech you, to continue steadfastly strong in faith and in good works, you who have given such perseverance to your apostle Bartholomew that he endured even to be skinned alive for the sake of your praiseworthy name.[80]

The second prayer of this mass ordo is even more interesting because of the way it presents the apostle's combat with the demons in Astaroth's temple:

> God, who on the prayer of your apostle Bartholomew has commanded the demon to destroy its own image by the roots, mercifully expel, we beseech you, the images of sins from our hearts, so that we may be deemed worthy to enter with joy through the door of your kingdom, purified through Bartholomew's prayers. Through [Christ].[81]

---

cuius reliquias laudibus frequentamur. Per. Gamber (ed.), 'Mittelitalienisch-beneventanische Plenarmissalien', pp. 283–284.

[79] *Canosa Missal*, 503–505 and 641–643. The position of these masses in the *Canosa Missal*, which does not provide precise calendar indications, is problematic. The mass in commemoration of the *translatio* is found in August, possibly on the 24th, which is in the western tradition generally Bartholomew's feast-day (*natale*), whereas the first mass, not further specified but presumably for the apostle's *natale*, is included between *Inventio crucis* and Ascension day, somewhere in May or early June.

[80] *Canosa Missal*, 503: *Oratio. Da quaesumus domine fidelibus tuis fortes in fide et bono persistere opere, qui beato Bartholomeo [apostolo tuo] tantam tribuisti constantiam, ut etiam uiuus decoriari sufferret pro tuo laudabili nomine. Per.* Rehle (ed.), *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa*, p. 128.

[81] *Canosa Missal*, 504: *Oratio secreta. Deus qui exorante apostolo tuo Bartholomeo demoni precepisti, suum funditus diruere simulacrum, peccatorum imagines a nostris mentibus quaesumus expelle propitius, ut eius precibus emundati regni tui ianuam gaudenter introire mereamur. Per.* Rehle (ed.), *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa*, p. 128.

In the *Passio Bartholomaei*, the demons are staged as representatives of the local cult. They are depicted as physical opponents of the apostle and as such represent the old religion, which is characterized as a false and restrictive system. The apostle appears on the scene and brings deliverance in a concrete manner: people are cured and freed from demonic possession. In the liturgical text, the demons are no longer opposed to the apostle as representatives of the old religion, but they take the place of sins in the hearts of the faithful. The community prays that Bartholomew may expel these imaginary demons just as he knocked over the concrete idols according to the apocryphal narrative. Here the liturgy gives words to an interesting shift in medieval demonology, where the representatives of the other and hostile religion are transformed into mental foes: the threat of sin that endangers both the Christian community as a whole and the Christian individual. In chapter 6, the feature of the apostolic battle with the demoniac will be worked out in more detail.[82]

The mass ordo for the commemoration of the *translatio* of Bartholomew's relics in the *Canosa Missal* offers little new material, since the most interesting prayer (*Deus qui apostoli tui Bartholomaei corpus*) is equal to the first prayer of the Beneventan fragment already discussed above.

4.4. *England*

The translation of relics (an arm) of the saint to Canterbury in the 11th century (see above) explains the presence of a blessing-text for the commemoration of Bartholomew's *natale* in the *Canterbury Benedictional* (second quarter of the 11th century).[83] This collection of episcopal blessings contains three texts for the apostle's *natale*, celebrated, according to Woolley's reconstruction of the calendar, on 25 August.[84] The three blessings are not abundant in specific references to Bartholomew's life, mission work and passion. Only the third text briefly mentions the apostle's work among the 'untamed Indians, whom he subdued to his victorious God'. Additionally Bartholomew's martyrdom is mentioned in this text, but without any further characteristics:

82 See also Rose, '*Erant enim sine deo vero*'.
83 Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. xxv.
84 Ibid., p. xv.

> May God, who wanted to call his apostles not his servants but his friends, through the prayer of his precious apostle Bartholomew deign to liberate you from the servitude of sin and enrich you with the liberty of virtue. Amen.
>
> And may he benevolently turn away from you all evil, who victoriously subjected the untamed Indians to God. Amen.
>
> May it please him to make intercession for you, who was deemed worthy to proceed towards heaven as a victor besprinkled with rose-coloured blood. Amen.
>
> May he deign to grant …[85]

No mention is made in the Canterbury blessings of the translation of Bartholomew's relics to this city, nor of earlier translations of the apostle's relics such as the 6th-century journey to Lipari or the 9th-century transfer to Benevento. The overall impression given by these blessings is that Bartholomew was commemorated in the church of Canterbury as a normal apostle, one among many, without much further emphasis.

The analysis of the influence of apocryphal traditions on eucharistic prayers for the feast-day of the apostle Bartholomew makes clear that various legendary traditions on this apostle have left their traces in the prayers of the Latin churches. The most important characteristics of the apostle's life and acts are commemorated, such as his struggle with demons, the foundation of a Christian church in his mission area, and his martyrdom through decapitation or skinning or both. The theme of the translation of his relics is also incorporated in the prayers for the eucharist, including the tradition of the heavy storm which the coffin with the precious remains resisted, known and recounted by Gregory of Tours.

In the following section, the focus is on the liturgy of the hours (or divine office) for the feast-day of Bartholomew.

---

[85] *Canterbury Benedictional*: *Item alia benedictio. Deus qui apostolos non seruos sed amicos suos uoluit uocare, pretioso apostolo suo Bartholomeo exorante, a seruitute peccati uos dignetur liberare, et uirtutum libertate ditare. Amen. Omne malum a uobis arceat benignissime, qui Indos indomitos deo subdidit uictoriosissime. Amen. Placeat sibi pro uobis interuenire, qui roseo cruore perfusus uictor meruit caelos subire. Amen. Quod ipse prestare dignetur*. Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 107.

5. *The liturgy of the hours*

Whereas the readings recited during the eucharist were generally taken from Scripture, the liturgy of the hours or divine office offered ample room for the recitation of saints' lives and passions.[86] The *responsoria*, verses that were sung in answer to the readings (responsories) and the refrains that were sung to introduce and conclude the psalms (antiphons), reflected on these readings. Often the sung texts contain quotations from the readings that are recited during the office. It is, therefore, not surprising that the chants of the divine office contain much hagiographic material.

As was explained in the General Introduction, the basic textual material of the medieval liturgy of the hours was collected by René-Jean Hesbert, who consulted 12 of the oldest manuscripts, dating to the 9th to 12th centuries.[87] The office for the apostle Bartholomew is found in the 11th-century cathedral *Antiphonal of Ivrea*, which was made for and used by the church of Ivrea in the northwest of Italy.[88] It is the only book in Hesbert's collection that gives the chants of the *horae* of Bartholomew's feast-day, and as such it counts as the oldest source offering a complete office for this day. The contemporary and also cathedral *Antiphonal of Monza*[89] includes only three antiphons for the night vigils, in addition to the morning office or *Laudes*.[90]

The *Ivrea Antiphonal* gives a set of antiphons and responsories for the liturgical commemoration of Bartholomew's *natale*, on 24 August. In the Christian tradition, a feast-day starts at the eve, and therefore the first office hour is the Vespers of the preceding day. Then follows the night office (or Matins). The number of nocturns in Matins varies according to the importance of the feast,[91] but in the cathedral of Ivrea, the commemoration of Bartholomew was celebrated with the full festive number of three nocturns. Each vigil comprises three psalms and their antiphons, followed by three readings each with a responsory.

[86] Palazzo, *Le Moyen Age*, pp. 169–171; B. De Gaiffier, 'La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en occident. A propos du Passionnaire hispanique', *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954), 134–165; Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office*, p. 22.

[87] General Introduction, section 3.2.

[88] Ivrea, Chapter Library 106. See Hesbert, CAO vol. 1, pp. xx–xxi.

[89] Monza, Chapter Library c. 12.75. See Hesbert, CAO vol. 1, pp. xxi–xxii.

[90] Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xxii.

[91] Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office*, pp. 53–54.

The night office is almost immediately followed by the morning hour: *Laudes*.[92] For the remaining hours of the liturgical day, viz. the little hours Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, and the second Vespers,[93] no proper chants are given in the *Ivrea Antiphonal*. Presumably the canons made use of common chants during these hours on Bartholomew's feast-day.[94]

The antiphons and responsories that are given for Bartholomew's feast-day in the *Ivrea Antiphonal* are of particular interest to the present study, as they are a clear example of an abundant use of apocryphal material in the liturgy of the hours. The chant texts tell in their own way the story of the apostle's sojourn in India and his performance in Astaroth's temple and its surroundings. The influence of the *Passio Bartholomaei* is easy to trace.[95] Here follows first the full text of the office according to the order of the day. Only the chants are given; the readings and prayers are not found in the antiphonal. Subsequently, an analysis is given of the most important themes chosen by the composer(s) of the office text. Here it is interesting to see not only which themes and passages of the apocryphon are included in the liturgical chants but also to note what is left unused.

Responsoria in natale sancti Bartholomei apostoli

Antiphona ad vesperum

ANT.[96] *Homo erat plenus daemonio; clamabat dicens: Apostole Christi, incendunt me orationes tuae. Tunc apostolus dixit ei: Obmutesce, et exi ab eo. Et statim liberatus est homo*.[97]

> Ant. There was a man possessed of a demon; he shouted and said: Apostle of Christ, your words set me on fire. Then the apostle said to him: Be silent, and go away from him. And at that moment the man was freed.

---

[92] Ibid., pp. 66–68.

[93] Cfr ibid., pp. 68–80; the texts of Compline are by definition common.

[94] On the distinction between proper and common texts in the liturgy of the hours, see General Introduction, footnote 42.

[95] As has been done by Hesbert in CAO, giving references to Mombritius' *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum*, vol. 1, pp. 140–144. In the following overview, references are to Bonnet's edition of the *Passio Bartholomaei*.

[96] Abbreviations: ant = *antiphona*; inv = *invitatorium* (opening verse); ps = *psalmus*; resp = *responsorium*; v = *versus*.

[97] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 3.6: *Factum est autem ut quidam plenus daemonio clamaret et diceret: Apostole Dei Bartholomaee, incendunt me orationes tuae. Tunc apostolus dixit ei: Obmutesce, et exi ab eo. Et statim liberatus est homo*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 132–133.

INV. *Sancte Bartholomee apostole, intercede pro nobis.*[98]

Inv. Holy apostle Bartholomew, pray for us.

In nocturno I

ANT. *Intravit Bartholomeus apostolus in templum Astaroth,*[99] *et cessavit a responsis et ludificationibus daemon.*[100]

The apostle Bartholomew entered the temple of Astaroth, and the demon ceased from giving answers and from his derisions.

ANT. *Seustium, per annos plurimos a daemonio vexatum, Bartholomaeus apostolus oratione et imperio salvavit.*[101]

The apostle Bartholomew saved Pseustius, vexed by a demon for many years, through his prayer and power.

ANT. *Polymii regis filiam lunaticam Bartholomaeus apostolus solo jussu sanavit citius.*[102]

The apostle Bartholomew healed very quickly the daughter of king Polymius, solely on his command.

V. *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum.*

RESP. *Et in finis orbis terrae verba eorum.*[103]

RESP. *Ingressus Bartholomaeus apostolus ulteriorem Indiam,*[104] *intravit in templum Astaroth, et statim a responsis siluit daemon, et a cunctis ludificationibus cessavit.*[105]

When Bartholomew had entered the ultimate part of India, he went into the temple of Astaroth, and immediately the demon fell silent from his answers and ceased from all his derisions.

---

98 Common antiphon, also in use for Stephen and Paul; Hesbert, CAO, vol. 3, p. 17.

99 *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 1.1: *Bartholomaeus apostolus ingressus est templum in quo erat idolum Astaroth.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 128–129.

100 Paraphrase of cap 1.1–2: *Erant enim sine deo uero et necesse erat ut a deo falso ludificarentur. Dii enim falsi hac arte inludunt eos qui uerum deum non habent: faciunt eis dolores infirmitates dampna pericula et dant responsa ut sacrificent eis, et quasi sanantur ab eis.* (...) *Unde factum est ut sancto Bartholomaeo apostolo ibi manente nulla responsa daret Astaroth.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 129.

101 *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 3.6: *Et statim liberatus est homo qui per multos annos fuerat fatigatus est ab eo* [sc. *daemonio*]. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 133. The anonymous possessed is, in the subsequent chapter 2.7, indicated as *Pseustius* by the king who asks healing for his lunatic daughter: *Peto ut sicut liberasti Pseustium, qui per multos annos passus est, ita et filiam meam.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 133.

102 *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 2.7. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 133–134.

103 Verse taken from the *Commune apostolorum*; Hesbert, CAO, vol. 4, p. 490.

104 The Passion sticks to '*tertia India*'.

105 Cfr Vespers antiphon above.

V. Cumque ut peregrinus in templo Astaroth lateret apostolus,[106] *et centies in die ita et in nocte genu in oratione flecteret Deo.*[107]

> And when the apostle hid as a pilgrim in the temple of Astaroth, he genuflected in prayer for God a hundred times a day and a hundred times per night.

RESP. Per os Seustii clamabat daemon: Bartholomaee apostole, incendunt me orationes tuae. Cui dicente apostole: Obmutesce et exi ab eo; statim a daemonio est liberatus.[108]

> Through the mouth of Pseustius the demon shouted: Apostle Bartholomew, your words set me on fire. Then the apostle said to him: Be silent, and go away from him. And at that moment the man was freed from the demon.

V. Per multos enim annos fuerat Seustius a daemonio fatigatus.[109]

> Pseustius had been fatigued by a demon for many years.

RESP. Vocatus a Polymio rege Indiae, Bartholomaeus apostolus strictam catenis pluribus filiam ejus solo jussu a daemonio sanavit citius.[110]

> Called upon by Polymius king of India, the apostle Bartholomew quickly healed his daughter from the possession of a demon, bound by many chains, only on his command.

V. Regis filiam lunaticam morsu et ictibus laniantem quos capere poterat.[111]

> ... the lunatic daughter of the king lacerating whoever she could catch by biting and blows.

In II. Nocturno

ANT. Beatus Bartholomaeus ait Polymio: Terrea terrenis sunt necessaria; ego autem nil terrenum desidero.[112]

> Blessed Bartholomew said to Polymius: Earthly things are necessary for those who belong to the earth; I however do not long for any earthly thing.

---

[106] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 1.1: *Ingressus est templum in quo erat idolum Astaroth et quasi peregrinus ibi manere coepit.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 128–129.

[107] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 2.4: *centies flexis genibus per diem, centies per noctem orat deum.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 131.

[108] Cfr Vespers antiphon above.

[109] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 3.6: *Et statim liberatus est homo qui per multos annos fuerat fatigatus ab eo*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 133.

[110] Cfr Noct. I, Ant. 3.

[111] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 2.6, where the king's lunatic daughter is presented as a ferocious madwoman: *Exsurgens autem perrexit cum eo adubi uidit eam apostolus catenis strictam, quia omnes morsu attrectabat et quos poterat tenere scindebat et caedebat et nullus ausus erat accedere ad eam.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 133.

[112] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 4.8: *Ista munera eis sunt necessaria qui terrena quaerunt: ego autem nihil terrenum, nihil carnale desidero.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 134.

ANT. *Aurum et argentum sicut Christus contemnimus, sanctus ait apostolus, quia illic ditari cupimus, ubi solum ejus regnat imperium.*[113]

We despise gold and silver, as Christ did, said the holy apostle, for we long to be richly remunerated where his power alone rules.

ANT. *Cogente apostolo, fatebatur daemon populo: Nolite, miseri, sacrificare mihi, quia catenis igneis vinctus retineor.*[114]

Forced by the apostle, the demon confessed to the people: Do not mean to make any sacrifices to me, you miserable people, for I am held bound by chains of fire.

RESP. *Praecepto apostoli, destructis a daemone simulacris, regi dixit beatus Bartholomaeus: Ego jussi daemonibus quassare idola, ut gentes verum credant Deum qui regnat in coelis.*[115]

When all the idols were destroyed by the demon on the command of the apostle, blessed Bartholomew said to the king: I commanded the demons to break down the idols, so that the peoples believe in the true God who reigns in heaven.

V. Propterea profanas imagines comminui, et ipsum daemonem ire in desertum praecepi.[116]

Therefore I crushed the profane images, and commanded the demon itself to go way into the desert.

RESP. *Obsecrante sancto apostolo, statim apparuit angelus, splendens sicut sol, sculpens digito suo in saxis signum sanctae crucis, quod christicolae suis frontibus infigerent.*

While the apostle was praying, suddenly an angel appeared, radiant like the sun, who carved with his finger the sign of the holy cross in the stones, so that the Christians would imprint it on their foreheads.

---

[113] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 5.12: *Ideo argentum et aurum non accipimus sed contemnimus sicut ipse contempsit, quia ibi cupimus esse diuites ubi solum eius regnat imperium.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 139.

[114] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.14: *Factum est autem altera die prima hora diei sacrificantibus eis coepit clamare daemon: Cessate miseri sacrificare mihi, ne peiora patiamini quam ego, qui catenis igneis religatus sum ab angelis Iesu Christi.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 141.

[115] Paraphrase of *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.16–17, where Bartholomew urges the people to acknowledge the 'true God, your creator, who dwells in heaven' (*uerum deum creatorem uestrum qui in caelis habitat*) by pulling down the statue of the demon. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 143.

[116] Paraphrase of *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.17, where Bartholomew orders the demon to leave the statue, exiles it to the desert (*in deserta*) but not before it itself has crushed all the statues and idols (*At ille statim egrediens comminuit omnia genera idolum*). Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 143–144.

V. Circumvolans igitur per quatuor angulos templi subito scripsit mirabiliter.[117]

And while [the angel] was flying around the four quarters of the temple, he suddenly began to write in a miraculous way.

RESP. *Dum precibus apostoli filia regis esset incolumis, voluit ipsum rex honorare cum auro et argento opibusque plurimis.*[118]

And when the daughter of the king was safe by the prayers of the apostle, the king wanted to honour him with gold and silver and many precious items.

V. Terrena quidem cuncta despiciens, solisque coelestibus inhians sprevit eadem munera.[119]

He however, despising all earthly riches, and craving for the heavenly only, rejected these gifts.

In III. Nocturno

ANT. *Clamabat plebi apostolus: Audite verum Deum, Creatorem vestrum, qui in coelis habitat; et nolite in lapidibus credere vanis.*[120]

The apostle shouted to the people: listen to the true God, your creator, who dwells in heaven, and do not believe in idle stones.

ANT. *Ut jussu apostoli cuncta daemon idola comminuit, credentes clamabant populi: Unus Deus, quem praedicat Bartholomaeus.*[121]

And as soon as the demon crushed all the idols on the command of the apostle, the people believing shouted: there is one God, the one whom Bartholomew preaches.

ANT. *Orante sancto Bartholomaeo, omnes in templo Astaroth diversis languoribus vexati, gratia Christi salvati sunt.*[122]

---

[117] The responsory and verse together quote *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 7.18: … *apparuit angelus domini splendidus sicut sol, habens alas, et per quattuor angulos templi circumuolans digito suo in quadratis saxis sculpsit signum crucis*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 145.

[118] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 3.7–8: … *et ultra eam penitus non potuit uexare demon. Tunc rex onerauit camelos auro argento gemmis uestibus et coepit quaerere apostolum.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 134.

[119] Cfr Noct. II, Ant. 1 and 2.

[120] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.16: *Tunc dicit apostolus ad plebem: Ecce quem deum putabatis, ecce quem putabatis curare uos. Audite nunc uerum deum creatorem uestrum qui in caelis habitat, non lapidibus uanis credatis*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 143.

[121] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.17–7.17: *At ille statim egrediens comminuit omnia genera idolum* (…). *Tunc omnes una uoce clamare coeperunt: Unus deus omnipotens quem praedicat apostolus eius Bartholomaeus*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 143–144.

[122] This is not a direct quotation or paraphrase, but a summary of Bartholomew's procedure in Astaroth's temple.

> On the prayers of the holy Bartholomew, all those who were vexed in Astaroth's temple by different illnesses, were saved through the grace of Christ.

RESP. *Videns rex Polymius ex diversis partibus in templo Astaroth congregatos languidos oratione Bartholomaei salvatos, credidit Christo, et baptizatus est cum omni domo et regno suo.*[123]

> And when king Polymius saw that all those who had gathered from different regions in Astaroth's temple were saved upon Bartholomew's prayer, he believed in Christ, and he was baptized with his entire house and his kingdom.

V. Statim quo a daemonio confracta conspiceret omnia idola et ipsum daemonem igneis religatum catenis.[124]

> Immediately he saw to it that all the idols were broken to pieces by the demon and that the demon itself was bound by chains of fire.

RESP. *Beatus namque apostolus Bartholomaeus a saevissimo Astrige rege crudeliter fustigatus est, et in morem follis eo praecipiente decoriatus, vivens et laetus pro Christo persistit, atque ad extremum capite plexus coelum triumphator ascendit.*[125]

> For the blessed apostle Bartholomew was cruelly cudgelled by the savage king Astriges, and his skin was pulled off as if to make a bag[126] on his command. But he remained steadfastly alive and joyful before Christ, and he went up to heaven as a victor when at the end his head was cut off.

V. Cum autem nuntiatum esset tyranno regi corruisse scilicet Waldach deum suum, scidit vestimenta sua, atque eo jubente.[127]

> When however this was reported to the tyrant king, namely that the god Waldach had fallen, he ripped his clothes, and on his command …

---

[123] Similarly, this is not a direct quotation, but a summary of Bartholomew's encounter with the king, and a reference to the latter's baptism, together with his wife and his two sons and his army and the people. *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 8.20; Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 147.

[124] A conjunction of *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.14 (see Noct. II, ant. 3) and *Passio Bartholomaei* 6. 17 (see Noct. II, resp. 1). The translation is slightly problematic.

[125] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.23: *Tunc scidit rex purpuream uestem qua indutus erat et fecit fustibus caedi sanctum apostolum Bartholomaeum, caesum autem iussit decollari.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 149. It is clear that the liturgical text makes use of other sources than the *Passio Bartholomaei*, this will be explained further below ('On the apostle's martyrdom').

[126] Trans. '*in morem follis*' Ryan, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 115.

[127] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.22–23: *Haec cum diceret, nuntiatum est regi quod deus eius Vualdath cecidisset et minutatim abisset. Tunc scidit rex…* (see footnote 125). Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 149.

RESP. *Postquam Licaoniam praedicavit beatus Bartholomaeus, ad Indos veniens,*[128] *convertit eos ad Christum, et per martyrium penetravit coelos, ubi cum Deo perpetue gloriosus exsultat.*

After he had preached in Lycaonia blessed Bartholomew came to the Indians and converted them to Christ. And through martyrdom he entered heaven, where the glorious [saint] rejoices forever with God.

V. Ibi lux sine fine manet, requies sine labore, satietas sine fastidio.[129]

There light remains without end, there is rest without labour, abundance without nausea.

In matutinis laudibus

ANT. *Rex in Christum credens Polymius, deposito diademate ac purpura, Christi apostolum non deserebat.*[130]

King Polymius believed in Christ, and after he had put off his crown and purple, he did not abandon the apostle of Christ anymore.

ANT. *Praecepto apostoli destructis a daemone simulacris, regi dixit Astragi Bartholomaeus: Ego jussi daemonibus quassare idola, ut gentes verum credant Deum qui regnat in coelis.*[131]

ANT. *Dixit regi Astragi sanctus apostolus: Ego deum quem colebat frater tuus vinctum ostendi, ipsumque feci frangere simulacrum suum.*[132]

The holy apostle said to king Astriges: I have shown the god your brother venerates in chains, and made him break his own idol.

ANT. *Jussu regis Astragi, beatus Bartholomaeus pro Christi nomine vivens decoriatus est, et amputatum est caput ipsius.*[133]

On the word of king Astriges, blessed Bartholomew was skinned alive for the name of Christ, and his head was cut off.

---

[128] Conjunction of *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 1.1 (see Noct. I, resp. 1) and other sources than the *Passio*, see below ('On the apostle's martyrdom').

[129] Hesbert refers to Bartholomew's description of the celestial kingdom (*Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 5.12), but that would be a very random parallel, and I do not follow him in this.

[130] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 8.20: *Tunc rex (...) credens baptizatus est. Et deposito diademate capitis et purpura coepit apostolum non deserere*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 147.

[131] = Noct. II, resp. 1.

[132] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 8.22: *Dicit ei* [sc. Astrigi regi] *apostolus: Ego deum quem colebat frater tuus religatum et uinctum ostendi et ipsum feci ut frangeret simulacrum suum*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 148.

[133] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.23: *caesum autem iussit decollari*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 149. Some manuscripts, however, have *decollari* replaced by *decoriari*, and contrary to Bonnet, Mombritius gives this reading in his edition: Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum*, vol. 1, p. 144 (see below: 'On the apostle's martyrdom').

ANT. *Revelante apostolo, Polymium ordinarunt antistitem, qui multa in Christi nomine coepit miracula facere.*[134]

And on the revelation of the apostle, they ordained Polymius as bishop, who started to perform many miracles in the name of Christ.

In evangelio

ANT. *Postquam Licaoniam praedicavit beatus Bartholomaeus, ad Indos veniens, convertit eos ad Christum, et per martyrium penetravit coelos, ubi cum Deo perpetue gloriosus exsultat.*[135]

ANT. *O quam multiplicibus Bartholomaee fulgens egregie miraculis, qui pro Jesu nomine tanta sustinuisti pericula; nos tuis semper sacris tuere precibus, ut mereamur ad superam ovantes pervenire patriam.*[136]

Bartholomew, who shines so eminently through many miracles, and who has endured so many perils in the name of Christ: protect us always through your holy prayers, so that we may be deemed worthy to arrive with joy at the fatherland above.

Bartholomew in Astaroth's temple—the combat with demons

Apart from one or two common antiphons, the office for Bartholomew's feast-day follows the text of the *Passio Bartholomaei*. That implies that the scene of all chant texts in the liturgy of the hours is Astaroth's temple in the far end of India, where the apostle, first hidden as a pilgrim, conquered the demon and baptized the king and his people. Many details of Bartholomew's victory over the demons are mentioned, including the names of the people he liberated from their powers. The man Pseustius is said to have been in the vexing power of a demon for many years. The demon speaks through Pseustius's mouth, indicating that he is now being tormented by the presence of the apostle. King Polymius's lunatic daughter is presented as a ferocious creature, bound by her people because of her unpredictable outbursts of devastating rage.

Most of the chants reflect the general purport of the *Passio*, namely, how the presence of the apostle in Astaroth's temple lames the demons

[134] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.24: *Factum est autem per reuelationem, uniuerso populo adclamante et omni clero, ab apostolo ordinatus rex episcopus et coepit in nomine apostoli signa facere.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 150.

[135] = Noct. III, resp. 3.

[136] This is a prayer text, a free composition with no exact parallel in the *Passio Bartholomaei*.

and binds their power. Not only Bartholomew's attitude towards the demons but also the latter's perception of their rival recurs in the office chants. The description of the apostle the neighbouring demon Beireth was forced to phrase, is reflected by the liturgical texts, including the narrative's details about Bartholomew's prayer life and the immaculate state of his clothes.

On virginity and the abstinence from earthly goods

An important issue included in the office chants is the apostle's abstinence from all material good. The *Passio* describes how king Polymius wants to thank the apostle for the cure of his lunatic daughter by offering him gold and silver, gems and vestments (*aurum et argentum, gemmae et vestes*). Bartholomew shortly refuses (*ista munera eis sunt necessaria qui terrena quaerunt: ego autem nihil terrenum, nihil carnale desidero*).[137] Then the apostle immediately starts to instruct the king in the rudiments of Christian doctrine, with much emphasis on the virgin birth of Christ: 'Therefore I want you to know that the Son of God deigned to be born with human nature through the womb of a virgin …'.[138] Bartholomew presents Mary as the 'first woman who dedicated a vow to almighty God to save her virginity'.[139] Bartholomew then enlarges on Christ being tempted in the desert, but the king returns to Mary with a question: 'And why did you say that she was the first virgin from whom a man and God is born?'[140] This gives Bartholomew the opportunity to continue his praise of virginity. Just as Christ, the new Adam, was born of a virgin, the first Adam was born of the virgin Earth.[141]

In the liturgical chants of the second nocturn, the episode following the cure of the king's daughter is rendered as follows:

> Resp. And when the daughter of the king was safe by the prayers of the apostle, the king wanted to honour him with gold and silver and many precious items.

---

[137] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 3.8–4.8. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 134.

[138] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 4.8: *Unde scire te uolo quia filius dei dignatus est per uterum uirginis nasci cum homine*… Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 134.

[139] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 4.9: *Haec autem virgo cum exsecraretur omnem uirum et ipsa seruandae uirginitatis uotum prima deo omnipotenti uouisset*… Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 135.

[140] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 5.11: *Et quomodo dixisti primam hanc esse uirginem ex qua natus est homo cum deo?* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 137.

[141] Ibid.

> V. He however, despising all earthly riches, and craving for the heavenly only, rejected these gifts.

The first antiphon of the same second nocturn quotes the *Passio* even more directly:

> Ant. Blessed Bartholomew said to Polymius: Earthly things are necessary for those who belong to the earth; I however do not long for any earthly thing.

However closely the liturgical texts follow the *Passio*, the chants also deviate significantly from the apocryphal narrative by stressing the contemptibility of earthly, material goods (*terranea*), but at the same time omitting the digression on virginity and the apostle's rejection of *carnalia*, the fleshly (*ego autem nihil terrenum, nihil carnale desidero*), themes so important to the *Passio*. Obviously, to the community of Ivrea where this liturgy was in use the appreciation of poverty was more central than the renunciation of the fleshly.[142]

On the meaning of the figure of the cross

Bartholomew's inspired teaching leads to the conversion of the king, and where a ruler converts, a whole people is converted.[143] According to the *Passio*, the king's consent to baptism is followed by the smashing of the idols in Astaroth's temple, in order to make place for a *templum* dedicated to Christ. After the people have actively ruined the tokens of the old religion, they are addressed by Bartholomew, who gives a short introduction to the theology of salvation and the trinity, closed by an account of the commission of the apostles and a trinitarian doxology. This eulogical speech is followed by the appearance of an angel who starts to purify both Astaroth's temple and the people present:

---

[142] The same passage deserves attention for different reasons, as it is thematically related to another apocryphal collection connected with the name of the apostle Bartholomew: the *Gospel of Bartholomew* or *Quaestiones Bartholomaei* (Kaestli, 'Questions de Barthélemy'). Although opinions differ on the question whether there are direct (or indirect) relations between the Latin *Passio Bartholomaei* and the Greek *Quaestiones Bartholomaei*, both traditions share an elaborate attention for the role of the Virgin Mary in Christian doctrine, even if the context is in both texts entirely different. In the *Quaestiones* it is the Virgin herself who, on the request of the apostles through Bartholomew, explains the manner in which she conceived the Saviour, whereas in the *Passio* it is the apostle who teaches the king on this matter. See further chapter 6.3 (esp. footnote 24).

[143] Cfr M. Brossard-Dandré, 'La collection du Pseudo-Abdias. Approche narrative et cohérence interne', *Apocrypha* 11 (2000), 195–205, at 203.

> And while all answered 'Amen', an angel of the Lord appeared, radiant like the sun, with wings, and he flew around the four corners of the temple and he carved the sign of the cross with his finger in the hewn stones and said: "Thus says the Lord who sent me: Just as you all are cleansed from your weakness, thus he has cleansed this temple from all squalor. And he commanded me that I would first show you its tenant, whom the apostle of God ordered to go to a place deserted by humans. And do not fear when you see him, but make the sign, which I carved in these stones, with your finger on your forehead and all evil will flee from you."[144]

The appearance of the angel is recounted in detail and in corresponding wording in the second responsory of the second nocturn:

> Resp. While the apostle was praying, suddenly an angel appeared, radiant like the sun, who carved with his finger the sign of the holy cross in the stones, so that the Christians would imprint it on their foreheads.
>
> V. And while [the angel] was flying around the four quarters of the temple, he suddenly began to write in a miraculous way.

The responsory explicitly mentions the sign of the cross that the angel carves in the stones of the temple and with which the newly baptized are urged to protect themselves against all evil. The chant text testifies to the significance of the sign of the cross and its protection, needed to build and confirm the Christian community.[145]

On the apostle's martyrdom and some technical problems

The most crucial element in the comparison between the liturgical texts used for the commemoration of Bartholomew and the *Passio Bartholomaei* is the manner in which the apostle's martyrdom is depicted. The last scene of Bartholomew's life, according to the *Passio Bartholomaei*, takes place in the neighbouring region, where Polymius's elder brother Astriges is the ruler. Priests of Astaroth's temple who did not follow

---

[144] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 7.18: *Cumque omnes respondissent amen, apparuit angelus domini splendens sicut sol, habens alas, et per quattuor angulos templi circumuolans digito suo in quadratis saxis sculpsit signum crucis et dixit: Haec dicit dominus qui misit me: Sicut uos omnes ab infirmitate uestra mundamini, ita mundauit templum hoc ab omni sorde. Et habitatore eius, quem iussit apostolus dei ire in locum desertum ab hominibus, iussit ut prius ostendam uobis. quem uidentes nolite expauescere, sed quale signum ego sculpsi in his saxis tale uos digito uestro facite in frontibus uestris, et omnia mala fugient a uobis*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 145–146.

[145] Cfr Alibert, 'Vision du monde', pp. 221–222.

Polymius in his conversion turn to Astriges in order to complain. In reaction to this, Astriges and his men procure the apostle's martyrdom. The scene is recounted in the office for Bartholomew by the second responsory of the third Nocturn:

> Resp. For the blessed apostle Bartholomew was cruelly cudgelled by the savage king Astriges, and his skin was pulled off as if to make a bag on his command. But he remained steadfastly alive and joyful before Christ, and he went up to heaven as a victor when at the end his head was cut off.
>
> V. When however this was reported to the tyrant king, namely that the god Waldach had fallen, he ripped his clothes, and on his command …

According to the *Passio*, the apostle was first smitten with fists and then decapitated.[146] Responsory and verse together follow the text of the *Passio* in the familiar close way, but the responsory takes an interesting turn in incorporating the tradition of Bartholomew's skinning, which is added in some manuscripts of the *Passio* as a later correction.[147] The question is whether the chant text follows the tradition of these particular manuscripts or whether it reflects the influence of the tradition rendered by the *Breviarium apostolorum* and other early lists of apostles. In the latter texts, Bartholomew is said to be skinned first and eventually beheaded. Moreover, the lists of apostles make mention of the apostle's mission work in Lycaonia. It is very likely, therefore, that the chant text is in this respect composed on the basis of the lists. That would also explain the third responsory of the third nocturn, where Bartholomew's preaching in Lycaonia and his martyrdom in India are combined, as is the case in the *Breviarium apostolorum* and the Spanish tradition of Isidorus's *De ortu et obitu*.

The king becomes bishop—the relation between imperium and sacerdotium in the *Passio Bartholomaei*

A particularly interesting element of the *Passio Bartholomaei* that is received in the divine office for Bartholomew's feast-day is the reference to the episcopal consecration of the former secular ruler in the *Passio*.

[146] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.22–23: *Haec cum diceret, nuntiatum est regi quod deus eius Vualdath cecidisset et minutatim abisset. tunc scidit rex purpuream uestem qua indutus erat et fecit fustibus caedi sanctum apostolum Bartholomaeum, caesum autem iussit decollari.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 149.

[147] See above, section 2 (footnote 22).

After the apostle's death, the king (*rex*) Polymius is ordained 'with approval of all the people and the clergy'.[148]

The local ruler generally plays an important role in the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, sometimes as the apostle's friend, sometimes as his major foe. Lipsius, with reference to the *Passio Matthaei* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, points to the significance of the king as the apostle's friend to a Frankish audience in a period when the Frankish rulers conquered and christianized their neighbours.[149] In the same way, Polymius is an important character in the *Passio Bartholomaei*, emphasizing the role of the secular ruler in the foundation of the Christian community. Polymius is contrasted by the 'neighbour king', his brother Astriges, who in the end causes the apostle's death. The same theme of a *rex christianissimus* on the one hand, who supports the apostle in the formation of a Christian community, and a hostile neighbour on the other, who eventually causes the martyrium of the apostle, recurs in the *Passio Matthaei*, as we will see in chapter 4.[150]

The case of the *Passio Bartholomaei* is exceptional in Latin hagiography because of the figure of the priest-and-king, however influential the image of the OT high priest Melchizedech has been from the early Christian period onwards.[151] It is even more remarkable that this phenomenon received a place in the Latin liturgy of the 11th century, when king and bishop came to be positioned in such a tense relation. The consecration of the king is mentioned in the fifth antiphon of the *Laudes*:

> On a revelation of the apostle, they ordained Polymius as bishop, who started to perform many miracles in the name of Christ.

The theme of the king invested with episcopal authority will return in chapter 4 on the apostle Matthew, and in chapter 6.4.2.

---

[148] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.24: *Factum est autem per reuelationem, uniuerso populo adclamante et omni clero, ab apostolo ordinatus rex episcopus*. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 150.

[149] Lipsius's dating of the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias to the 6th century is based, a.o., on the figure of king Aeglippus in Matthew's passion. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 168*s*.

[150] Cfr Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, pp. 73–74, who draws a parallel here between the Latin *Passio Bartholomaei* and the 'gnostic' *Acts of Matthew*. On the political structures in the *Passio Bartholomaei* and in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias in general, see Alibert, 'Vision du monde', pp. 214–215. The dominion of a *rex* is not necessarily an entire kingdom, but normally a province. Alibert, 'Vision du monde', p. 214.

[151] Cfr Alibert, 'Vision du monde', p. 218.

In nomine apostoli—in nomine Christi

A final parallel-and-change between the *Passio Bartholomaei* and the liturgical chants concerns an additional remark to the ordination of Polymius. According to the text of the *Passio*, the newly consecrated bishop starts to perform miracles *in nomine apostoli*. The fifth antiphon of the *Laudes*, quoted above, adds this element—and changes it, where it says 'qui multa in Christi nomine coepit miracula facere'. The liturgical text adapts the apocryphal narrative in a remarkable way. The role of the apostle as the bearer of salvation, as the *vicarius Christi*, indeed as almost equal to Christ, is a key characteristic of the ancient apostle apocrypha,[152] a characteristic that is, however, not always received with the same emphasis in the Latin renditions of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles. In the case of Andrew, for example, the saving work of the apostle is central in the original Greek account, but less so or even absent in the Latin version attributed to Gregory of Tours.[153] Obviously the notion of the apostle as a second saviour was abandoned in the Latin rewrites of apocryphal literature, even though the apostle's role as redeemer does recur in a liturgical text, as in the case of Andrew. In one of the representatives of the liturgy of early medieval Gaul, the *Missale Gothicum* (Burgundy / Autun, *c.* 700), one of the texts of the eucharistic prayer for Andrew's feast-day refers to the apostle as *reparatorem mentis*: redeemer of the soul.[154] In the case of the later Italian liturgy for Bartholomew, however, the text of the *Passio* is transformed into the idea that miracles are performed *in nomine Christi*, not in the name of the apostle, parallel to several miracle passages in the canonical Acts of the apostles (e.g. 3:6; 16:18). The question could well be asked in how far this textual adaptation, consigning the faithful directly to Christ and not to his apostles, is a reflection of a medieval thought world, where the saint was such an important mediator of *virtus*. This matter is further dealt with in chapter 6.5.

---

152 Cfr J.-M. Prieur, 'La figure de l'apôtre dans les actes apocryphes d'André', in Bovon et al. (eds.), *Actes apocryphes des apôtres*, pp. 121–139, at 122–123; 131; Bovon, 'Canonical and apocryphal Acts', pp. 183–184.

153 Cfr L. van Kampen, '*Acta Andreae* and Gregory's *De miraculis Andreae*', *Vigiliae christianae* 45 (1991), 18–26, at 21–22.

154 Rose, 'Apocryphal traditions in medieval Latin liturgy', pp. 125–128.

6. *Hymns*

As is the case with the liturgical prayers for the liturgy of mass and the chants for the liturgy of the hours, the most interesting material in the field of hymns in honour of Bartholomew comes from the Italian and Spanish regions. In the following, hymn material from a Beneventan and an Old Spanish collection will be discussed respectively.

6.1. *Beneventan hymns*

The Hymnal of the Abbey of Saint Severin in Naples contains two hymns in honour of the apostle Bartholomew.[155] The first hymn, *Ad laudem Christi procerum*, summarizes in nine four-line stanzas the acts and martyrdom of Bartholomew:

1. Let the assembly of all brothers express
in praise of Christ
with sweet melody
the acts of the most celebrated men together.[156]

2. After Christ had ascended
on his own power to the right hand
of his father and had filled
the disciples with the holy Spirit,[157]

3. The glorious Bartholomew
entered India
preaching the son of God
and performing miracles.[158]

4. The most evil enemy Beireth
described his face, his miracles,
his powers and his signs
to his adherents.[159]

---

[155] G.M. Dreves (ed.), *Hymnarius Severinianus: Das Hymnar der Abtei S. Severin in Neapel* (Leipzig, 1893 = AH 14A), pp. 113 and 113–114. The two hymns in honour of Bartholomew are, apart from the Neapolitan hymnal, also found in a hymnal and a breviary of the Abbey of Sancta Sophia Beneventana, both of the 11th century (Cod. Neapolitanus VI E 43; Cod. Vaticanus 4928).

[156] *Ad laudem Christi procerum / Cunctorum fratrum concio / Suavi modulamine / Depromat actus pariter.*

[157] *Postquam ad patris dexteram / Sua Christus potentia / Ascendit et discipulos / Sancto replevit spiritu.*

[158] *Bartholomaeus inclitus / Praedicans Dei filium / Ingressus est in Indiam, / Faciens mirabilia.*

[159] *Cujus vultus insignia / Virtutes et prodigia / Hostis Behir nequissimus / Suis narrat complicibus.*

5. When the apostle saw
the king's lunatic daughter,
he restored her health by his word
and destroyed the statues of the demon.[160]

6. Immediately the king converted to the Lord,
and his entire people,
and Polymius was cleansed
in the sacred font with all the people.[161]

7. Hereupon he was beaten with stabs
by the most evil Astriges,
he was deprived of the cover of his skin
while still living and proclaiming God with praises.[162]

8. Thus the virgin athlete
enduring the victorious martyrdom of faith
sought heaven in triumph
after he was beheaded by the sword.[163]

9. And may the flock of believers
supported by his holy prayers
delight in the joy of heaven
after the conquest of the shrewd enemy.[164]

In the first and second stanzas, the life and martyrdom of Bartholomew are set in a general context of acts of the apostles (*procerum actus*), beginning with the gift of the holy Spirit to the Twelve on Pentecost. From the third stanza onwards, the hymn concentrates on Bartholomew and his mission and thaumaturgy in India. The demon Beireth (*nequissimus*) and his description of the apostle, his countenance, miracles and virtue are commemorated in stanza 4, while stanza 5 relates the cure of the king's lunatic daughter and the destruction of the statues of idols. It is the apostle's word that brings about the cure and the destruction of the statues. The Beneventan hymn stresses the power of the apostle's word. It remains more faithful to the text of the *Passion of Bartholomew* than the

160 *Apostolus tunc filiam / Cernens regis lunaticam, / Saluti verbo reddidit / Et idola comminuit.*

161 *Conversus rex ad Dominum / Statim et omnis populus, / Ablutus est Polymius / Sacro fonte cum omnibus.*

162 *Hinc castigatur ictibus / Ab Astrige nequissimo, / Nudatur cutis tegmine / Vivensque Deum confitens.*

163 *Sic in trophaeo fidei / Caelebs athleta permanens, / Abscisso ense vertice / Coelos triumphans petiit.*

164 *Cujus caterva precibus / Sacris fulta fidelium / Devicto hoste callido / Coeli fruatur gaudio.* Dreves (ed.), *Hymnarius Severinianus*, p. 114. The doxology given by Dreves, and not reproduced here, is taken from another hymn.

chant text above, which points to Christ as the power behind miracles, not the apostle. By doing so, the hymn follows an important tradition in the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, where the word of the apostle is crucial as a life-bringing and redeeming instrument.[165] The sixth stanza concentrates on the conversion and baptism of the king. In both acts, the ruler is followed by his people (*et omnis populus; cum omnibus*). Follows, in the seventh and eighth stanzas, the apostle's martyrdom, in which castigation, skinning, and decapitation play a role, in that order. The hymn follows the tradition as revealed by the lists of apostles and early liturgical martyrologies, and by the *Passio* in the redaction of some of the manuscripts.[166] The concluding stanza consists of an intercession for the faithful, procured by the apostle and made possible thanks to the victory over the enemy.

The second hymn, *Gaudium mundi, Christe*, shows no interest in the details of Bartholomew's acts and passion. Rather, the hymn concentrates on the apostle as an influential intercessor and seeks for reconciliation with Christ through his servant Bartholomew.

6.2. *Old Spanish hymns*

In the collection of hymns in use in the liturgy of Spain before the reformations of the 11th century, two hymns in honour of Bartholomew are included. They are transmitted in different manuscripts. The hymn *Aeterni proles patris* is found in the Toledan codex 35.6 from the 10th–11th century,[167] while the text *Exaudi Christe nos patris potens* is found in an 11th-century manuscript containing the Psalter and Hymnal of Silos,[168] as well as in a 10th century *Liber misticus* or *mixtus*,[169] a combina-

[165] On the redeeming power of the apostolic word, see Prieur, 'Figure de l'apôtre', pp. 126–128 and 137–139; F. Bovon, 'The words of life in the *Acts of the apostle Andrew*', *Harvard Theological Review* 87 (1994), 139–154; L.S. Nasrallah, '"She became what the words signified": the Greek *Acts of Andrew*'s construction of the reader-disciple', in F. Bovon et al. (eds.), *The apocryphal Acts of the apostles* (Harvard, 1999), pp. 233–258; cfr Rose, 'Apocryphal traditions in medieval Latin liturgy', p. 127 footnote 46.

[166] See above, footnote 22.

[167] C. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen des alt-spanischen Ritus* (Leipzig, 1897; repr. New York and London, 1961 = AH 27), p. 24.

[168] London, BM Add. 30.851. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 26.

[169] London, BM Add. 30.845. The version in this manuscript is presented by N. Messina, 'Ecce Ymnus Bartholomei Apostoli Quem Fecit Leo Melfitanus. Un inno italico riscattato dalla liturgia mozarabica (AH 27, 139 ss.: 97)', *Euphrosyne. Revista de filologia clássica* n.s. 20 (1992), 349–363, at 350–351.

tion of the antiphonal with a hymnal and other liturgical books.[170] The latter hymn is of South Italian origin, as the acrostychon *Ecce Hymnus Bartholomei Apostoli Quem Fecit Leo Melfitanus* reveals.[171] The author, otherwise unknown, composed a difficult text, focusing on Bartholomew's mission to India.[172] The Indians are depicted as very sinful people, who saw the light of the true God (*verus Deus*) through Bartholomew (stanzas 4 and 6). The hymn also refers to Bartholomew's healing abilities (stanza 7), but is particularly interesting because of the exclamation in stanza 9:

> Great redeemer and holy apostle,
> hear our incessant praises.
> Cleanse us from our sins and misdeeds,
> most loving judge, destroy the dark and envious serpent
> and let it be covered by sulphur three or four times.[173]

The apostle is depicted here as a redeemer (*mercator*, as a synonym of *redemptor*) who delivers the faithful from sin. The hymn in honour of the apostle Bartholomew resembles the eucharistic prayer for Andrew in the *Missale Gothicum*, in granting the redeemer's role to the apostle. At the same time the hymn implicitly refers to the power of the apostles to bind and loose sins, attributed originally to Peter (Mt. 16:19) but then also applied to the other apostles, most notably in combination with Mt. 19:28 where the apostles are appointed by Jesus as judges. Both gospel passages are reflected by the hymn text. This aspect of the apostles as judges will be further discussed in chapter 6.6.

The less complex hymn *Aeterni proles patri* hardly refers to the *Passio Bartholomaei*.[174] Only in two instances does the *Passio* shine through, most explicitly in the fifth stanza, where Bartholomew is addressed as *martyr apostole*,[175] and more covertly in the second stanza, where the apostle is indicated as *discipulus tuus ab intus sanctus et eforis*.[176] This phrase possibly

---

[170] Pinell, 'Mozarabische liturgie', col. 1803.

[171] Messina, 'Ecce Hymnus Bartholomei', pp. 360–363.

[172] Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 139–140. Cfr R.E. Messenger, 'The Mozarabic Hymnal', *Transactions and proceedings of the American Philological Association* 75 (1944), 103–126, who speaks of a complicated and crude style (p. 117).

[173] *Mercator, magne sancte seu apostole, / Exaudi nostra sepia preconia. / Linguens peccata nostra uel facinora, / Furuam serpentem et inuidam, toruissimam, / Iudex, subuerte ter quaterque sulfura.*

[174] Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 138.

[175] *Bartholomaee, martyr apostole, / Dignare nobis esse per omnia / saecla patronus et fave cernuos / Nosque beatos effice servulos.*

[176] *Bartholomaeus, ecce, discipulus / Tuus ab intus sanctus et eforis, / Apostolorum sorte mirificus, / Nunc, ecce, fulget aethere sublimis.*

refers to the description by the demon Beireth of the apostle's outward appearance.[177]

Although there are not many hymns in honour of Bartholomew, the texts under consideration are interesting compositions. The hymns of South Italian origin (*Ad laudem Christi procerum* and *Exaudi Christe nos patris potens*) are the most important texts in the sense that they actively incorporate features of the apocryphal narrative. Whereas the first hymn follows the Latin *Passion of Bartholomew* rather closely, the hymn of Leo Melfitanus is interesting because of the importance of the apostle's role as redeemer and rescuer from sins.

7. *Conclusion*

In the liturgical prayers, chants and hymns for the commemoration of Bartholomew's feast-day, the apostle Bartholomew is presented as a pillar of the church, not only in the past but also most notably in the current religious context of the medieval community that celebrated his feast-day. Bartholomew is commemorated as the exotic apostle who went as far as India to fight the opponents of the Christian faith, represented by demons and false gods. The apostle is stronger than these local divinities: their power is bound by his appearance, their delusive guidance over the people's lives is broken, and their governance is brought to an end. The apostle is, both in the apocryphal sources and in the liturgical texts that make use of them, the founder of a local church in the past, but the commemoration of the events linked to his foundation work marks his importance to the Christian community in the present. Just as the apostle founded the church on the ruins of the local religion, thus he is invoked to sustain and build the Christian community in the medieval here and now. Concrete demons have given way to spiritual demons of sin and temptation. Although the apostle is, in the presentation of the apocryphal narrative, the envoy of the 'true God', and although, as such, he manifests the superiority of his religion over the local religion, he has to pay for this victory with his life. The apostle as a martyr belongs to the highest ranks of the church's heroes, viz. the saints. The validity of Tertullian's maxim 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church' (*Apologeticum*, 1) remains upheld

[177] That is, if the confusing *eforis* is read as *deforis*, following Blume's suggestion.

also in the (early) medieval period. The foundation of an ecclesiastical hierarchy by the apostle of Christ is commemorated in the liturgical texts, including all details about the striking combination of secular and sacred authority in the figure of the bishop-king Polymius. As we have seen so far, the liturgy both of the eucharist and of the daily office for the commemoration of Bartholomew's *natale* follows the *Passio Bartholomaei* very closely. However, not only the parallels are interesting; the adaptations or changes of the apocryphal narrative in the practice of worship may be even more revealing. Instances of this process of adjustment, as shown above, make clear that the liturgy played an important role in the dynamics of religious ideas and theological conceptions. Apocryphal, narrative sources on the acts and martyrdom of the apostle Bartholomew were keenly received in the medieval liturgy, but not always without critical notes and questions.

CHAPTER THREE

PHILIP AND JAMES: BROTHERS IN CULT

In the second half of the 6th century, Pope Pelagius I (556–561) and his successor John III (561–574) built a church in honour of the apostles Philip and James (the Less).[1] This *basilica*, now known as the church of the Twelve Apostles, was dedicated on the first day of May. Ever since, the two apostles have been commemorated together in the Latin world, on 1 May, indicated as Philip's *dies natalis* in some early martyrological sources.[2] It is not entirely clear why the apostles share a feast-day. The biblical lists of apostles (Mt. 10:2–4; Mk. 3:16–19; Lk. 6:14–16; Acts 1:13) do not place them in each other's vicinity, nor do the stories of their lives and deaths in East and West link their fates. Yet the dedication of the early medieval Roman basilica, where relics of the two were brought,[3] had an important impact on the development of the apostles' liturgical cult. The position of both apostles in the prayers of the Roman mass canon must be explained from the dedication of the basilica, and the same goes for the liturgical material in various sacramentaries, antiphonals and hymnals where the apostles are celebrated together.[4] The treatment of Philip and James as a pair in this chapter is determined by their liturgical feast-day. At the same time, they must be studied as individuals as far as both the biblical and the

[1] Also called James Minor, as distinguished from James Major, the son of Zebedee: F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2005), s.v. James, St., 'the Less' (pp. 862–863). The construction and dedication of the church are described in *Liber pontificalis*, c. LXII.3 and LXIII.1. L. Duchesne (ed.), *Liber Pontificalis*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955–1957), vol. 1, pp. 303 and 305. See Chr. Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo. Cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence, 1927), pp. 201–202; and H.A.A.P. Geertman, *More veterum. Il Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda antichità e nell'alto medioevo* (Groningen, 1975), p. 134 and *passim*.

[2] Cfr. Thacker, 'In search of saints', p. 266.

[3] P. Jounel, 'Le culte des apôtres à Rome et dans la liturgie romaine', in *Saints et sainteté dans la liturgie. Conférences Saint-Serge 1986* (Paris, 1987), pp. 167–187, at 173.

[4] Kennedy, *Saints of the canon*, pp. 60 and 110; De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium apostolorum*', p. 102, footnote 4.

legendary material on these two apostles is concerned. Finally, some liturgical documents offer material that is meant exclusively for one of the two, composed for the celebration of a separate feast-day.

1. *Development of the cult*

Two persons with the name Philip occur in the canonical New Testament. First there is Philip as one of the twelve, who plays a modest role in the synoptic gospels and Acts (Mt. 10:2–4; Mk. 3:16–19; Lk. 6:14–16; Acts 1:13), but is a more outspoken character in the gospel according to John.[5] In the latter gospel, Philip is frequently mentioned as a companion of Andrew, 'the other apostle with a Greek name'.[6] In the Lukan Acts, a second Philip appears as one of the seven helpers, assigned by the apostles.[7] This Philip is sometimes indicated as 'the Hellenist' in order to distinguish him from the disciple originating from Bethsaida. The Lukan Acts recount how Philip the Hellenist preached the gospel in Samaria (8:5–8); how he converted and baptized Simon Magus (8:12–13) and how he baptized the Ethiopian Eunuch (8:26–39). After the conversion of the chamberlain, Philip is said to have travelled to Caesarea (8:40), where he lived with his four virgin daughters the prophetesses (21:8–9).[8]

Opinions differ on the importance of the distinction between two Philips, both in modern times and in the past.[9] Although the figures of Philip the apostle and Philip of the Lukan Acts are often treated as one and the same person in historical sources,[10] some medieval authors were conscious of the fact that a distinction had to be made between the apostle and the Philip they indicate as one of the seven 'deacons'.[11]

---

[5] Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, pp. 15–16.

[6] Ibid., p. 16.

[7] Acts 6:5.

[8] Cfr Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, p. 16.

[9] Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, pp. 15–17; C. Matthews, *Philip: apostle and evangelist. Configurations of a tradition* (Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2002), pp. 2–3; 15*s*.

[10] F. Bovon, 'Les Actes de Philippe', in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.25.6 (Berlin-New York, 1988), pp. 4431–4527, at 4434–4435; Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, p. 16.

[11] Although the word is not used in Acts 6, both Stephen and Philip are considered as deacons in the medieval tradition. For convenience's sake, I shall follow medieval usage and distinguish between Philip the apostle and Philip the deacon in the following.

Thus the Carolingian martyrologists Notker of Skt Gallen and Ado of Vienne discuss the confusion between the two Philips,[12] as well as the compiler of the *Legenda aurea*.[13] Likewise some of the early medieval martyrological sources mention one feast-day for the apostle Philip together with James the Less on 1 May, and one for 'Philip the deacon' on 6 June.[14] Liturgical texts, however, do not always distinguish between the two. This will become visible for instance in the material for the liturgy of the hours. It seems as though the two persons that could be distinguished on the basis of biblical sources were, in the praxis of liturgical celebration, merged into one saint.

In the case of the apostle James the Less, the New Testament evidence is even more complex. The gospels are densely populated with persons bearing the name James. In the Middle Ages, however, James of Alfaeus (Mt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13) and James the Less (Mk. 15:40) are interpreted as one and the same person.[15] He is considered as a relative of Jesus and is therefore indicated as *Jacobus frater Domini* (Gal. 1:19): James, the brother of the Lord. In the tradition this apostle was seen as the first 'bishop' of Jerusalem,[16] and also as the author of the canonical Epistle of James.[17] His death is described by Flavius Josephus (37–100),[18] who gave him the nickname *Justus*, and by Hegesippus, the 2nd-century church historian whose remarks

---

[12] Cfr McCulloh, 'Historical martyrologies', p. 123.

[13] James of Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, c. 62: *Primus ergo Philippus ab isto differt, quia ille fuit apostolus, iste diaconus, ille quiescit apud Hierapolim, iste apud Cesaream, ille habuit duas filias prophetissas, iste quatuor, licet hystoria ecclesiastica uideatur dicere quod fuit Philippus apostolus qui habuit quatuor filias prophetissas, sed in hoc magis Ieronimo est credendum*. G.P. Maggioni (ed.), *Legenda aurea*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1998), vol. 1, p. 444.

[14] See section 3 below; and cfr R. Plotino, 'Filippo, diacono ed Evangelista', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* V, cols. 719–721, at col. 721.

[15] G. Jászai, 'Jacobus der Jüngere', in LMA V, cols. 254–255; D. Alibert e.a. (trans.), 'Passion de Jacques frère du Seigneur', in ÉAC 2, p. 750. This is different in early Christian traditions, where a distinction is made between James the son of Alfaeus and James the brother of the Lord; see R.B. Ward, 'James of Jerusalem in the first two centuries', in W. Haase et al. (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.26.1 (Berlin, 1992), pp. 779–812, at 781; and W. Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus und die Jakobustradition* (Göttingen, 1987).

[16] James was apparently a prominent figure among the first Christians in Jerusalem; he played an important role in the earliest discussions among the apostles; cfr Acts 12:17; Acts 15:13–21; and Acts 21:18.

[17] R. van Doren, 'Filippus en Jacobus, de Jongere', in LWb I, cols. 753–754.

[18] Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates* XX.197–203; written around 93–94. Ward, 'James of Jerusalem', p. 784.

concerning James are rendered by Eusebius.[19] Both historiographers picture James's martyrdom in the temple in Jerusalem, while Josephus gives a precise date: Easter 62.[20]

Clearly Philip and James belong to the earliest apostles with a liturgical cult in Rome, together with John, Andrew, Thomas, and, of course, Peter and Paul.[21] The translation of relics of Philip and James to Rome and the subsequent dedication of a church to these apostles in the 6th century, mentioned above, is one of very few witnesses of an early cult of these apostles in the West. Outside Rome the cult of neither of the two seems to have flourished abundantly in the first part of the Middle Ages. In Gaul, for instance, there is no evidence of churches bearing their names in the early centuries.[22] Legendary material on Philip is fairly scarce in this region. In his book *In glory of the martyrs*, where Gregory of Tours recounts the stories of the passions of several apostles, he does not pay attention to Philip. He does describe, however, James's martyrdom as it was transmitted by the early Christian historiographers that will be discussed below.

The existence of a liturgical commemoration of the apostles in Rome did not, for that matter, immediately contribute to a more outspoken profile of them. In the earliest prayers in honour of Philip and James, both apostles remain rather flat characters. In the case of Philip, this shallowness corresponds to the lack of interest in the apostle as it is signalled by Frédéric Amsler, who states that 'this apostle remained almost unnoticed in the West'.[23] Likewise in the Christian East, Philip received hardly any attention in the liturgy, although on the Byzantine Calendar his *dies natalis* (14 November) marked the beginning of Advent from the 6th century onwards.[24] As far as James the Less is concerned,

[19] Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* II.23.4–18. Th. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1903), vol. 2.1, pp. 166–170.

[20] Cfr Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus*, p. 231.

[21] Kennedy, *Saints of the canon*, p. 105.

[22] Eugen Ewig did not find any church in Gaul under the patronage of Philip or James before the 8th century: E. Ewig, 'Der Petrus- und Apostelkult im spätrömischen und fränkischen Gallien', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 71 (1960), 215–251, nor does Delehaye mention Philip or James in his study of church patronage: H. Delehaye, 'Loca sanctorum', *Analecta Bollandiana* 48 (1930), 1–65. Ewig counts some churches in honour of St James (pp. 243, 244), but presumably James Zebedaei is meant here. The same goes for cathedrals dedicated to (John and) James mentioned in Ewig, 'Kathedralpatrozinien', pp. 31–34.

[23] Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, p. 22.

[24] Ibid.; see also Bovon, 'Actes de Philippe', p. 4453. Amsler mentions as an explanation for the lack of interest in Philip in the East the fact that Philip often occurred in

he was, in the first centuries, regarded as inferior to the great masters of doctrine Peter and Paul. In this context, he can be seen as 'the one who lost the battle' in the debate on the formation of a Christian community in and around first-century Jerusalem.[25] Yet from the 4th century onwards, he received a place on the liturgical calendar of Jerusalem and outside.[26] The development of a cult in the East or the lack thereof respectively does, however, not sufficiently explain why both Philip and James are such faint figures in the medieval West and its liturgy—a matter which remains unsolved.

2. *Apocryphal traditions*

The liturgical celebration of Philip and James on one day is a tradition with a Roman background that spread in the medieval West but has no roots in the apocryphal or legendary traditions on both apostles. The apostle Philip is the protagonist in the Greek *Acts of Philip*, originating in 5th-century Asia Minor. The tradition of James's martyrdom in Jerusalem is described by various historiographers of Jewish (Flavius Josephus) and Christian (Hegesippus, Eusebius) origin, as was indicated above. Jerome rewrote these existing traditions in his *De viris illustribus*, on which most medieval Latin sources on James rely.

2.1. *Greek* Acts of Philip

The Greek *Acts of Philip* (APh) originated in Asia Minor. The APh are a composite oeuvre,[27] written in different stages. Large parts of the work are coloured by a strong emphasis on virginity and purity, and it is therefore attributed to encratite circles of the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century. The origin of the work is sought in Asia Minor, probably Phrygia, and the work is considered

connection with minority groups or even subversive movements in the early Christian world. Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, p. 22.

[25] Cfr footnote 16 above and see Y.Z. Eliav, 'The tomb of James, brother of Jesus, as *locus memoriae*', in *Harvard Theological Review* 97 (2004), 33–59, at 34.

[26] Eliav, 'The tomb of James', pp. 43–45.

[27] For an elaborate exposure of its structure and content, see Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, pp. 25–80; Bovon, 'Les Actes de Philippe', pp. 4475–4521; and F. Amsler, *Acta Philippi. Commentaire* (Turnhout, 1999 = CCSA 12).

as a reaction to the mainstream catholic church and its orthodox line.[28] In this socio-religious context, where conversion to the Christian faith implied conversion to chastity and purity, purity refers not only to abstinence from sexual and marital life, but also from meat and wine.[29]

The APh relate the apostle's wanderings to various cities, including Athens, to the land of the Parths, and, finally, to Hierapolis, where he died. In the *Acts* there is no explicit distinction between an apostle Philip and a 'deacon' Philip, although the different literary units that can be discerned in the work as a whole seem to find their origin in distinct traditions around the two biblical figures.[30] Thus APh III–VII seem to deal with the deacon Philip. Here even stronger ascetic colours are brought in. The absence of the apostle's daughters in this part of the work is conspicuous, as well as the account of the conversion of four women brought about by Philip. The marital life of the apostle, as suggested by the canonical Acts 21 and the existence of the four daughters in the APh, seems to be negated in this part of the Greek APh. The physical daughters are replaced here by spiritual offspring: pupils and converts.[31]

The *Martyrium of Philip* (MPh), added to the Greek APh, relates Philip's stay in Hierapolis with Bartholomew, one of the 70 disciples of Jesus according to Lk. 10, and his sister Marianne or Mariamne. The three, accused of sorcery, are handed over to torture. While Bartholomew and Marianne suffer humiliating torments, Philip is hung from a tree, with his head down. In this position Philip admonishes his companions, teaches his converts, and prays before he dies. Forty days later, when the ministry of burial and mourning is fulfilled, Bartholomew and Marianne go their way.

2.2. *Philip: martyr or non martyr? The Latin traditions*

The oldest extant Latin account of 'Acts of Philip' is transmitted as part of the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. The work shows only few parallels with the Greek Acts, of which no full Latin redaction is transmitted.[32]

---

28 Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, p. 30.

29 Ibid., pp. 29–31.

30 Ibid., pp. 26 and 37–52; F. Amsler, 'Actes de Philippe. Introduction', in ÉAC 1, pp. 1181–1184, at 1182.

31 Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, p. 48; Amsler, 'Actes de Philippe. Introduction', pp. 1182.

32 Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 2, p. 429.

The most remarkable difference is the fact that Philip is not depicted as a martyr in the Latin tradition. Just as the apostle and evangelist John, Philip is attributed a peaceful death at an advanced age. Possibly the tradition of Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* resounds here, where the historiographer points to Asia Minor as the final resting place of John and Philip, without mentioning a *martyrium* of Philip.[33]

Other Latin sources, such as the *Breviarium apostolorum* and other lists of apostles that circulated in the early Middle Ages, do depict Philip's end as a martyr's death, however. This might be explained by the Greek background of the apostle lists.[34] The *Legenda aurea* collects both traditions.[35] It is a remarkable fact that the liturgical sources on Philip celebrate the apostle both as a martyr and as a non-martyr, since in general the apostles are, in the Latin liturgy, regarded as martyrs. In the following, the different traditions are considered in more detail.

2.3. *Philip in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias: a peaceful death*

The Latin '*Acts of Philip*' or *Gesta Philippi*, as I shall refer to the section on Philip in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias in the following, comprise the tradition on Philip's preaching in Scythia, where he remains for 20 years. When he is forced by the Scythians to sacrifice to Mars, he unmasks an idol of Mars as the dwelling place of an evil dragon and causes the monster to come out of the statue.[36] The beast kills some people and sickens the rest. Philip promises to cure the sick and raise the dead, provided that the people destroy the idol and build a church instead. And so it happens. The dragon is sent to the desert and the people convert and live under the preaching of the apostle. In a short summary, the Latin *Gesta Philippi* render the headlines of Christian preaching. Philip appoints priests, deacons and a bishop, and then leaves the Scythians in order to go to Hierapolis in Asia Minor, obeying a vision:

> But the apostle, after he had ordained priests and deacons and a bishop and had built many churches, returned to Asia Minor, following a revelation, and from then on stayed in the city Hierapolis. And there he

[33] Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* III.31.3. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 2.1, p. 264.

[34] See General Introduction, section 3.3.

[35] See footnote 13 above.

[36] On the role of the dragon in the Greek APh see Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, pp. 62–66.

extinguished the wicked heresy of the Ebionites, who say that the son of God, when he was born of the virgin, had adopted a human [body] that was not real.[37]

The concluding section recounts Philip's peaceful death at the age of 87, as well as his burial in Hierapolis. The Latin *Gesta Philippi* also mention that the apostle has two daughters: '... most holy virgins, through whom God has won a host of virgins'.[38] They die several years after their father, and are buried at his right and left sides in Hierapolis. Here the Latin *Gesta Philippi* as found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias correspond with Eusebius's rendition of early Christian traditions on Philip in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[39] The *Gesta Philippi* clearly deviate from the Greek APh, which are concluded by the *Martyrium* describing Philip's death on the cross headlong.[40]

2.4. *James: martyr in the temple*

Various apocryphal writings in different languages and from distinct centuries of the early Christian era are connected to the name of James the Less, but in contrast to Philip there are no early Christian Greek *Acts of James*.[41] The account of James's martyrdom is found

[37] *Gesta Philippi*, c. 3: *Ipse vero apostolus ordinatis presbyteris et diaconibus, ordinato etiam episcopo, et ecclesiis multis constructis, per revelationem in Asiam reversus est, et in civitate Hierapoli exinde commorabatur. Ubi haeresin malignam Hebionitarum extinxit, qui dicebant non verum hominem natum, ex virgine Dei filium assumpsisse*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 740–741. The attribution of docetism to the Ebionites must be a confusion; see Bovon, 'Les Actes de Philippe', p. 4437.

[38] *Gesta Philippi*, c. 4: ... *virgines sacratissimae, per quas Deus multitudinem virginum lucratus est*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 741. The function of Princess Iphigeneia in the account on Matthew in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias is parallel: she is also presented as a pious virgin, dedicated to the apostle and seeing to the spread of his cult after his death. See chapter 4 below and chapter 6.4.1.

[39] Eusebius / Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* III.31.3. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 2.1, pp. 264–265.

[40] Brossard-Dandré connects the peaceful death of Philip as described in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias to the legend of John's death. Brossard-Dandré, 'La collection du Pseudo-Abdias', at 196.

[41] Geerard mentions a Greek *Passio* (BHG 763y; CANT, p. 168), but this text is identified as Hegesippus by M. Brossard-Dandré, 'La passion de Jacques le Mineur selon le Pseudo-Abdias et ses sources', in Mimouni (ed.), *Apocryphité*, pp. 229–242, at 232 footnote 12. Pratscher lists the following early Christian writings connected to James: the canonical *Epistle of James*; the *Protevangelium Jacobi*; the *Epistula Jacobi apocrypha* and the two Jacobus-apocalypses, found in the library of Nag Hammadi; the *Letter of James to Quadratus* in Syriac and Armenian manuscripts; the *Jacobusanaphora*, a liturgical document in Jacobite (or Monophysite) circles in Syria in the first half of the

in various historiographical writings of the first centuries CE, as was indicated above, and in some of the apocryphal writings attributed to James.[42] The oldest witness of James's death by lapidation in the temple in Jerusalem is Flavius Josephus. Traditions on James's martyrdom started to circulate soon after Josephus among Christian authors as well. These early Christian sources, of which the Pseudo-Clementine literature, the work of the 2nd-century historiographer Hegesippus and the second *Apocalypse of James* are the most important, recall James's ministry in the temple in Jerusalem, his discussions with various currents in the Jewish community gathered there, the death sentence pronounced by the priests or Pharisees, and how he was thrown from the temple roof and lapidated to death.[43] Both Eusebius and Jerome rely on these ancient Christian sources when they describe the development of the first Christian community in Jerusalem (Eusebius, HE II.23.4–18) or the life of James (Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 2). Especially these authors from the 4th and 5th centuries have been important intermediaries of the tradition of James's martyrdom to the early medieval Latin authors. The book *In gloria martyrum* of Gregory of Tours, the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, but also later legendary collections beyond the chronological boarders of this study, such as the *Legenda aurea*, go back to the early Christian traditions on James.

In his book *In gloria martyrum*, Gregory of Tours includes a short notice on the apostle James, the brother of the Lord. Gregory relates how James went to the Jews to preach the gospel after Christ's ascension. He was thrown from the pinnacle of the temple and beaten with a club, and after his death buried on the Mount of Olives.[44] Elsewhere, in his *Historiae*, Gregory states that James is a half-brother of Jesus, a son of Joseph and another wife than Mary.[45]

Middle Ages; and the 'Ascent of James', preserved in the Pseudo-Clementine literature. Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus*, pp. 208–228; Eliav, 'The tomb of James', pp. 35–36.

[42] E.g. the second *Apocalypse of James* in the Nag Hammadi Collection, but also in the Pseudo-Clementine writings and in the work of Clement of Alexandria. Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus*, p. 229.

[43] Pratscher gives a synoptic analysis of the three oldest Christian traditions: Pseudo-Clementine writings, second *Apocalypse of James*, Hegesippus. Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus*, pp. 238–251.

[44] Gregorius Turonensis, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, c. 26. Krusch (ed.), MGH SRM I.2, p. 503.

[45] Gregorius Turonensis, *Historiae* I.22. B. Krusch (ed.), MGH SRM I.1, p. 18.

The account on James the Less in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias is a compilation of the material found in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* and the account of Hegesippus included in Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica*. The work of Flavius Josephus and the second *Apocalypse of James* are not digested in the Latin *Passio Jacobi*.[46] This *Passio* provides an uneven story where James's martyrdom is told twice. It includes the tradition of an apocryphal gospel, now lost, written in Jewish-Christian circles and indicated usually as the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. This tradition, according to Jerome, states that James had promised not to eat after the Last Supper before he had seen Jesus risen from the dead. In order to spare him further mortification, the risen Christ appears to James and offers food to his apostle. Jerome incorporated this passage on James into his *De viris illustribus*.[47] Subsequently, the first half of the *Passion* according to Pseudo-Abdias follows fragmentarily the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* I, 43–73, which relates the gathering of the apostles in Jerusalem seven years after the resurrection of their Master. The events of James's fall from the roof of the temple are situated in this apostolic meeting, where Caiphas the high priest challenges the collegium of the Twelve to convince him of the truth about Jesus. When the apostles have indeed persuaded many of the people and of the Jewish prominents by their preaching, a *homo inimicus* enters the stage, later identified as Saul the future Paul. This evil one destroys the order just arranged by the apostles' preaching, and causes a bloodshed, during which James, 'the bishop of Jerusalem', is thrown from the temple. James is thought to be dead, and further on ignored by the Jews.

---

[46] Alibert et al., 'Passion de Jacques', p. 751; see on the sources used in the *Passion of James* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias Brossard-Dandré, 'La passion de Jacques le Mineur', esp. pp. 234–238.

[47] Hieronymus, *De viris illustribus*, c. 2.11: *Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos et a me nuper in Graecum sermonem Latinumque translatum est, quo et Origenes saepe utitur, post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert:* … C.A. Bernouilli (ed.), *Hieronymus und Gennadius De Viris illustribus* (Frankfurt, 1968), p. 8. The group of Jewish-Christian gospels belongs to the most difficult problems of the apocryphal literature, as Schneemelcher phrases. There is no text transmitted under the title. The only indications that it must have existed (or, to rephrase, that several texts of this kind have existed) are to be found in the works of the early *patres*. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 115–128. Jerome is one of the most important witnesses, for instance in the present passage of *De viris illustribus*. The work was apparently not written in Greek, but presumably in a semitic language (Schneemelcher expresses doubt about the original language: *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1, pp. 120–121).

At that point, the *Passion of James* takes on the account found in Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica*,[48] which describes how the Jews turn their attention from Paul, after he had set out for Rome, to James, the leader of the Christian community in Jerusalem. From here, the *Passion* follows Eusebius, up to and including the latter's rendition of Hegesippus's account of James's martyrdom. According to Hegesippus, it is James alone who is asked by the Jews to help them to call back the people from their growing faith in Jesus. Against the Jews' wish and expectation, James confesses, on the roof of the temple, that Jesus is the son of God. The Jews, realizing their miscalculation, climb the temple roof and throw James down. Afterwards, he is lapidated and finally clubbed to death by a fuller. James is buried immediately afterwards near the temple, and a commemorative stone marks the spot of his martyrdom 'until the present day'.

The early Christian and early medieval legendary traditions on Philip and James as transmitted either in Latin or in Greek or other eastern languages do not give any cause to link the two apostles. The combined celebration of the two apostles on one feast-day is clearly a liturgical innovation, and a western one.[49] The first written documents that testify to this combined cult of Philip and James are lists of apostles and martyrologies. They precede the sources that contain liturgical texts, such as prayers, chants, and hymns. Therefore, and also because of the tradition of Philip's martyrdom transmitted in these sources as opposed to the Latin legendary tradition, the lists of apostles and early medieval martyrological sources are discussed first in the following section.

3. *Lists of apostles and martyrologies*

The earliest documents that mention the feast-day of Philip and James in the West are the lists of apostles and the historiated martyrologies. These documents cannot be considered sources of liturgical praxis, as noted in the previous chapter. They are merely lists of feasts and do not indicate if and how the individual feast was celebrated at a certain place.[50] However, these sources are of importance to the present chapter

[48] Eusebius / Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* II.23.1–18. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 2.1, pp. 164–171.

[49] But see Bovon, 'Les Actes de Philippe', p. 4438.

[50] Cfr Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Usuard*, p. 38.

not only because the liturgical sources proper are so late—liturgical texts for the celebration of Philip and James, be it as a pair or as individuals, are vainly sought for until the mid-8th century—but also because they contain a variety of traditions on the two apostles of which the liturgical sources themselves made use, as will become clear below.

3.1. Breviarium apostolorum

The *Breviarium apostolorum* gives separate notes for Philip and James but adds to both their feast-day on 1 May. As is well known, the *Breviarium apostolorum* does not correspond to other early Latin traditions in all respects. In the case of many apostles,[51] the *Breviarium* disagrees with the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* as well as with early Latin legendary traditions on the apostles. The note on the apostle Philip is an important instance of this discord.

> Philip, whose name is interpreted 'the mouth of a lamp', was born in Bethsaida, where Peter also originated, and he preached Christ to the Gauls [?] (*Gallis*). Thereupon he was crucified in Hierapolis in the province of Phrygia and he died lapidated. And there he rests with his daughters. And his feast-day is celebrated on the first of May.[52]

This entry partly draws from the canonical gospels, indicating Bethsaida as Philip's place of birth (John 1:44–45). More surprising are the term *Gallis*, in connection with Philip's preaching activity, and his martyrdom in Hierapolis in Phrygia, by crucifixion and lapidation. The statement that Philip preached *Gallis* is difficult to interpret. De Gaiffier explores the possibility of Philip's presence in Gaul. However, since there are no sources testifying to any such missionary activity by this apostle in Gaul, and as there is no sign of a liturgical cult of this apostle in Gaul before the second half of the 8th century, this thesis is difficult

---

[51] E.g. Thomas, Bartholomew, Simon and Jude, and, according to De Gaiffier, Philip and James. Concerning the latter pair, De Gaiffier states that 'Le Bréviaire ignore la commémoraison de ce dernier avec S. Philippe, au 1er mai' (De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium*', p. 102 footnote 4); but I find James on 1 May in the *Breviarium* as recorded by the *Sacramentarium Gellonense*—other versions omit this date, such as the version in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*: *eius natalicium et ordinacio eius VI Kalendas Ianuarias colitur*. Mohlberg (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae*, p. 261.

[52] *Philippus, qui interpretatur os lampadis, a bethsaida ciuitate ortus, unde et petrus, gallis praedicauit christum, deinde in hierapuli frigiae prouinciae crucifixus et lapidatus obiit, ibique cum filiabus suis quiescit, cuius natalicium kl. mai. celebratur*. Text of the *Breviarium apostolorum* according to the *Sacramentarium Gellonense* (CCSL 159), pp. 489–490.

to substantiate.[53] In any case, if the *Breviarium* really meant to state that Philip's preaching activity took place in Gaul, this does not seem to have affected the apostle's cult much.[54]

In the details concerning Philip's way and *locus* of dying, the *Breviarium* connects to traditions other than the Latin *Gesta Philippi* as found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Hierapolis as the place of Philip's martyrium is mentioned by Eusebius and his predecessors, as well as in the Greek APh. Various Greek traditions on Philip's martyrdom mention crucifixion as the instrument of the apostle's death, such as the *Martyrium Philippi* that concludes the Greek APh.[55] The theme of lapidation, in contrast, is present in the Greek APh only as a menace, not as a performed act.[56] Lapidation also occurs in the Irish tradition on Philip's martyrdom, although the apostle eventually finds his martyrdom on the cross.[57] The Irish accounts on Philip's life correspond partly to the account in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias but differ from it in the addition of a martyrdom tradition.[58] According to the Irish legend, the apostle's adversaries cut Philip's tongue up to seven times in order to silence him, but they did not manage to stop his preaching.[59] They

[53] De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium*', p. 104. The term *Gallis* might refer to the Celtic immigrants in Galatia. See for other interpretations of the term De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium*', p. 109 footnote 3 and pp. 115–116. De Gaiffier supports the idea that the compiler of the apostle list—a presupposed common source to which both the *Breviarium* and *De ortu et obitu* go back—took the view that the West came off badly in the Greek apostle catalogues and tried to adjust this matter by awarding the western lands as preaching regions to Philip and James Zebedaei. De Gaiffier, 'Le *Breviarium*', p. 110.

[54] Thus De Gaiffier, '*Breviarium apostolorum*', p. 104.

[55] *Martyrium Philippi*, c. 34. Bovon et al. (eds.), *Acta Philippi* (CCSA 11), p. 404. Other Greek sources on Philip likewise recount his crucifixion headlong: e.g. BHG 1530b, an unedited *Laudatio* that mentions Philip's crucifixion head down; similarly, the Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople recounts Philip's companions Marianne and Bartholomew, as well as his crucifixion headfirst. The Menologion of the emperor Basilius is much the same. See Bovon, 'Actes de Philippe', pp. 4447–4448. Other oriental *Acts of Philip* describe his martyrdom headfirst as well, either on a cross or a simple beam, see ibid., p. 4431 (Coptic, Ethiopian, Arabic sources).

[56] *Acta Philippi* VI, 9–10.

[57] *The Passion of the apostle Philip*. Translation in M. Herbert and M. McNamara, *Irish biblical apocrypha. Selected texts in translation* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 106–108.

[58] M. McNamara, *The apocrypha in the Irish church* (Dublin, 1975; repr. 1984), number 93, p. 114; J. Bauer, 'Philippus, Apostel: Apokryphe Schriften', in LThK VIII (1999), cols. 225–227, col. 226.

[59] For a similar tradition on the continent, see the *Passio Ferreoli et Ferrucionis*. Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, pp. 302 and 488–491.

then tried to lapidate him but did not succeed. In the end, they crucified the apostle, who was surrounded by singing angels carrying his soul to heaven.[60] The theme of lapidation in apostles' martyrdoms is not uncommon. An important model is found without doubt in the martyrdom of Stephen according to the canonical Acts of the apostles (Acts 7:54–60).

The *Breviarium apostolorum* gives a notice on James, mentioning 1 May as his feast-day as well, and adding the commemoration of his ordination on 27 December:

> James the brother of the Lord [was] the first bishop of Jerusalem. When he preached Christ the son of God in Jerusalem, he was thrown from the temple by the Jews, and he was killed by stones. And he was buried there next to the temple. His feast-day is celebrated on the first of May and his ordination on the 27th of December.[61]

The *Breviarium* is more in harmony with the Latin tradition on James's life and martyrdom as transmitted in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias than was the case with Philip, although Pseudo-Abdias does not indicate James as a bishop but refers to his ministry in the temple of Jerusalem as a priest[62] (*quia in templo Salomonis publico fungebatur ministerio*).[63] Pseudo-Abdias also mentions the temple as the place of James's martyrdom, where he was thrown from the roof. As he did not die instantly, he was also lapidated and finally beaten to death with a fuller's club. Immediately afterwards, he was buried next to the temple. The *Breviarium* mentions lapidation as the final cause of James's death, not clubbing. This might be regarded as an attempt to link the account on James with the passage on Philip.

---

[60] This passion is edited in 1887 by Atkinson. Another important Irish tradition on Philip is 'The Ever-New Tongue': commented on by McNamara, *Apocrypha in the Irish church*, pp. 182–183, with a translation ibid., pp. 109–118. See Bovon, 'Actes de Philippe', p. 4443. See also J. Carey, '*In Tenga Bithnua*: From Apocalypse to Homily?', in Th. O'Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures and early medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 1999 = Instrumenta Patristica 31), pp. 51–68.

[61] *Breviarium apostolorum*: *Iacobus frater domini, hięrusolimorum primus episcopus; hic dum hięrusalem christum dei filium predicaret, de templum a iudęis precipitatus, lapidibusque obpremitur, ibique iuxta templum humatur; ęius natalicia kl. mai. et ordinatio VI kl. ian. Sacramentarium Gellonense* (CCSL 159), p. 489.

[62] Cfr Eliav, 'The tomb of James', pp. 36–37.

[63] Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 594.

3.2. De ortu et obitu patrum

Philip and James are also found separately in the treatise *De ortu et obitu patrum*, attributed to Isidore of Sevilla, without mention of their shared feast-day. In fact, the *De ortu et obitu* does not mention any liturgical feast-days at all. The entry on Philip in this document partly overlaps with the one in the *Breviarium*:

> Philip, from the city Bethsaida, where Peter originated, preached Christ to the *Gallis* and he led the barbarian people and those people that live near the shadows and the turmoil of the sea to the light of knowledge and to the harbour of faith. Thereupon he was crucified in the city Hierapolis in the province of Phrygia and he died lapidated, and he was buried upright and rests there with his daughters.[64]

The passage on James goes back to Jerome's *De viris illustribus*[65] and explains the complex family relations between James 'the Just' and Jesus. It corresponds to the *Breviarium* in its rendition of James's martyrdom in Jerusalem:

> James the son of Alfaeus was the first bishop of Jerusalem and was nicknamed the Just. He was a son of the sister of the mother of our Lord, and therefore he is also called brother of the Lord. He was a man of light, a worker of truth and of such sanctity that the people competitively wished to touch the fringe of his robe. And when he preached Christ the son of God in Jerusalem, he was thrown from the temple by the Jews, killed with stones and buried there next to the temple. And Iosephus states that he was conspicuous for such sanctity in Judea, that it was believed that because of his murder Jerusalem was destroyed.[66]

---

[64] Isidorus, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, c. 72: *Philippus, a Bethsaida ciuitate, unde et Petrus, Gallis praedicat Christum barbarasque gentes uicinasque tenebris et tumenti oceano coniunctas ad scientiae lucem fideique portum deducit. Deinde in Hierapoli Phrygiae prouinciae urbe crucifixus lapidatusque obiit, rectoque sepultus cadauere simul cum filiabus suis ibidem requiescit.* Chaparro Gómez (ed.), *De ortu et obitu patrum*, p. 209.

[65] Hieronymus, *De viris illustribus*, c. 2; cfr Chaparro Gómez (ed.), *De ortu et obitu patrum*, p. 212, footnote 173.

[66] Isidorus, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, c. 76: *Iacobus Alfei, episcopus Hierosolimorum primus, cognomento Justus, sororis matris Domini filius, unde et Domini frater uocatus; homo lucis, operarius ueritatis tantaeque etiam sanctitatis ut fimbriam uestimenti eius certatim cuperunt adtingere populi. Hic dum in Hierusalem Christum Dei filium praedicaret, de templo a Iudaeis praecipitatus, lapidibus obprimitur ibique iuxta templum humatur; quem Iosephus tantae sanctitatis in Iudaea perhibet extitisse, ut propter eius interfectionem Hierosolima credatur esse diruta.* Chaparro Gómez (ed.), *De ortu et obitu patrum*, p. 213.

3.3. Martyrologium Hieronymianum

The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* mentions the apostles Philip and James together on the Kalends of May:

> 1 May. The beginning of the proclamation of our Lord Jesus Christ in Phrygia. In Hierapolis the *natale* of the holy apostles Philip and James.[67]

With this remark, the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* is the earliest witness of a shared feast-day of Philip and James the Less on 1 May. It does not only indicate this feast as the commemoration of the death of the apostles, but also as the beginning of the preaching of Philip in Phrygia. By mentioning this topographic name the account in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* distinguishes itself from the Latin legendary tradition, where Hierapolis is mentioned as the city where Philip died, but the land of the Scyths as the region where he preached the gospel.[68]

3.4. *Medieval martyrologies: Florus, Ado, and Usuard*

In the medieval tradition of historiated martyrologies, the martyrologies of Florus, Ado and Usuard contain a note on Philip and James. The *Martyrology of Ado* mentions Philip and James on 1 May as follows:

> The feast-day of the apostles Philip, and James the son of Mary who was a sister of the mother of the Lord, whence he was called 'the brother of the Lord'.[69]

Ado did not confine himself to a short notice for the individual saints on their feast-day, but added brief summaries (or *libelli*) of their lives and passions. In Ado's *libellus* for Philip and James he relies heavily on Florus's martyrology, but there are some remarkable differences.[70] The few lines that Ado dedicated to Philip correspond to the tradition as found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Philip's mission to Scythia is mentioned, where he founded a church with deacons, priests, and

---

[67] *KL. Maias. Initium praedicationis domini nostri Iesu Christi in Frigia Hierapoli provinciae Asiae natale sanctorum Philippi apostoli et Iacobi.* Delehaye and Quentin (eds.), *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p. 222.

[68] Cfr F. van der Meer and Chr. Mohrmann, *Atlas van de oudchristelijke wereld* (Amsterdam-Brussels, 1961), map 41.

[69] Ado, *Martyrologium*: *Et natale apostolorum Philippi, et Iacobi filii Mariae quae fuit soror matris Domini unde frater Domini dicebatur*. Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 138.

[70] Ado, *Martyrologium*: Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, pp. 6–7; *Martyrology of Florus*: Dubois and Renaud (eds.), *Édition pratique des martyrologes*, p. 77.

bishops, as well as his return to Asia Minor where he, after many 'good works', died a peaceful death and was buried in Hierapolis. Ado's *libellus* pays much more attention to James, building largely on Jerome's *De viris illustribus* and taking over what Florus writes in his martyrology. Ado describes how James, the Lord's brother and nicknamed 'the Just', grew up as a Nazarite, destined for the temple ministry; how he was ordained the first bishop of Jerusalem by the apostles; and how he tried to convert the Jews and was martyred while performing his priestly duties in the temple. The *libellus*—and here it deviates from Florus—also quotes the passage from the *Gospel of the Hebrews* which relates how the risen Christ, in an apparition to James, blesses bread and breaks it and gives it to his apostle. The latter tradition is, as was indicated above, also found in the *Passion of James* according to the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. It is interesting to note that Florus does not include this entire passage referring to the apocryphal *Gospel of the Hebrews*. This could be connected to his reluctant or even dismissive attitude towards apocrypha, which he shared with his bishop, Agobard (cfr chapter 1).

The entry on Philip and James in the martyrology of Usuard mentions the feast-day of both apostles on 1 May and summarizes the material given in Ado's *libellus*:

> Kalends of May. [...] The feast-day of the apostles Philip and James, of whom Philip, after he had converted almost entire Scythia to faith in Christ, rested near Hierapolis, a city in Asia Minor, after a glorious end. James however, who is also called the brother of the Lord, is buried next to the temple in Jerusalem, where he had also been smashed.[71]

There is no further specification of Philip's *gloriosus finis*, but Usuard gives no indication at all that he deviates from the tradition of the Latin apostle lists concerning Philip's peaceful death. Moreover, Usuard's martyrology distinguishes between Philip the Apostle and Philip the Deacon. He gives a separate note on 6 June, Philip the deacon's feast-day, and states how this Philip is buried near Caesarea, together with his three virgin daughters, the prophetesses.[72] Here the martyrological source differs from most liturgical sources *stricto sensu*. As far as Philip

[71] Usuard, *Martyrologium*: *Item, natalis beatorum apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi, ex quibus Philippus, postquam paene Scytiam ad fidem Christi convertisset, apud Ierapolim, Asiae civitatem, glorioso fine quievit. Iacobus vero, qui et frater Domini legitur, iuxta templum Ierosolimorum, ubi et praecipitatus fuerat, sepultus est.* Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Usuard*, pp. 221–222.

[72] Usuard, *Martyrologium*: *Natalis beati Philippi, qui fuit unus de septem diaconibus. Hic signis et prodigiis inclitus apud Cesaream requievit, iuxta quem tres virgines filiae ipsius prophetissae tumulate iacent.* Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Usuard*, p. 242.

is concerned, the latter only rarely distinguish between the distinct biblical figures; rather, they merge them into one single saint, as will become clear in the following sections.

4. *The liturgy of mass*

The liturgical cult of Philip and James in western traditions developed from the early Middle Ages. The prayers for the celebration of mass on 1 May as they occur in books reflecting the practice of the eucharistic liturgy in Rome, Gaul, Spain, northern Italy, and England are presented and discussed in this section, with a concentration on their reception and use of apocryphal material.

4.1. *Rome, Frankish Gaul, and northern Italy*

It is not surprising to find a set of prayers for the commemoration of Philip and James on 1 May in the books reflecting the eucharistic tradition of Rome, where the feast-day finds its origin. The oldest prayers for the mass in commemoration of the two are found in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, used in the papal liturgy in the early medieval period.[73] The mass consists of three prayers.[74] As is common in this book, the prayers pay little attention to the biographical particularities of the apostles. Emphasis is rather on general features of the apostles around whose commemoration the faithful are gathered, such as their teaching and intercession. An exception is found in the *praefatio*, added in the supplement, when the book was first used in Frankish Gaul:

> It is truly worthy [that we praise you], eternal God, who has formed your church in the solid strength of the apostles, to whose collegium blessed Philip and James belong. And we venerate the feast of their passion today, asking that we may be reinforced by the example of those by whose doctrine we are instructed, and that we may be supported by their prayers. Through Christ.[75]

This text will be discussed in subsection 4.2. below.

[73] Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 79–102.

[74] *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*, 479–481. Deshusses (ed.), *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, pp. 214–215.

[75] *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*, 1608: *VD [Vere dignum] aeterne Deus. Qui ecclesiam tuam in apostolica soliditate firmasti, de quorum consortio sunt beati Philippus et Iacobus quorum*

The prayers found in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus* are in general similar to those in the *Gregorianum*.[76] There is little attention for the Acts of the apostles, apart from the fact that martyrdom is attributed to both, as in the first prayer of the mass:

> God, who is the miraculous splendour of all your saints, and who has consecrated this day with the martyrdom of your blessed apostles Philip and James, grant your church that it may rejoice in the day of such a feast, so that it may be supported by your mercy and by their examples and merits. Through [Christ].[77]

In the other prayers, emphasis is on the importance of the commemoration, and on the effectiveness of the sacrament of the eucharist, celebrated in commemoration of the apostles.

Various sacramentaries of the second half of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century testify to the further spread of the commemoration of Philip and James on 1 May in the Frankish lands. A mass *In natale sanctorum Philippi et Iacobi* is included in most of the *Eighth-century Gelasiana*, most notably the sacramentaries of Gellone and Angoulême. A set of prayers for this commemoration is also present in the sacramentary now known as the Prague Sacramentary but in use in Bavaria at the end of the 8th century,[78] and it appears as well in the sacramentary of the South-Bavarian monastery Sankt Gallen. The prayers in these books, largely similar and with many correspondences to the mass in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*, have a general character, with little attention for the specific characteristics of the two apostles.[79] In imitation of the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*, Philip and James are commemorated as martyrs: the second prayer of the Eighth-century Gelasian tradition is the same as the opening prayer of the *Sacramen-*

---

passionis hodie festum ueneramur, poscentes ut sicut eorum doctrinis instituimur, ita exemplis muniamur, et precibus adiuuemur. Per Christum. Deshusses (ed.), *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, p. 530.

[76] *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*, 860–864. Mohlberg (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae*, p. 137.

[77] *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*, 860: *Deus qui es omnium sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis quique hunc diem beatorum apostolorum tuorum Philippi et Iacobi martirio consacrasti, da aecclesiae tuae de natalicia tantae festiuitatis laetare, ut apud misericordiam tuam et exemplis eorum et meritis adiuuemur: per*. Mohlberg (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae*, p. 137.

[78] Dold (ed.), *Das Prager Sakramentar*, pp. 28, 41.

[79] In the following, I refer to the prayers for Philip and James in the *Sacramentarium Gellonense*, 930–936 (Dumas and Deshusses (eds.), CCSL 159, pp. 125–126). The mass is also found in the *Sacramentarium Augustodunense*, 735–739; Heiming (ed.), CCSL 159B, pp. 88–89; *Sacramentarium Engolismense*, 927–931; Saint Roch (ed.), CCSL 159C, pp. 137–138; *Sacramentarium Sangallense*, 731–735; Mohlberg (ed.), *Das fränkische Sacramentarium*, p. 112.

tarium Gelasianum Vetus.[80] The apostles are set as examples that ought to be imitated (Gellonense 931 [hereafter Gell]), and they are glorified because of their merits (Gell 930). The glorious confession of the apostles paves the way to the kingdom of heaven for the faithful (Gell 933), who praise the apostles' doctrine and merits (Gell 934) and pray for their intercession (Gell 935).

Apart from the depiction of the apostles as martyrs, there is no reference to the apocryphal traditions on Philip or James as discussed above. The same goes for the sacramentaries in use in North Italy, of which the *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, transmitted in a 9th-century manuscript and reflecting the early Milanese liturgy, can serve as an example.[81] Two of the five prayers are similar to the texts in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*, and the other three do not use any apocryphal or legendary material. The entire mass in the *Bergomense* concentrates on the benefits of the eucharistic sacrifice, offered in honour and commemoration of the apostles, and on the intercession and protection of the apostles for the congregation. In summary it can be said, then, that the reception of legendary material from the apocryphal Acts of the apostles Philip and James in the eucharistic prayers in use in Rome, North Italy, and the Frankish realm is very limited.

4.2. *Spain*

In Spain, the situation is slightly more complicated. The oldest Spanish sacramentaries that contain a mass in commemoration of Philip and James on 1 May reflect a situation that is similar to that discussed in the previous subsection. The apostles are commemorated as martyrs, and little attention is paid to the details of their wanderings and passion or death as told by the apocryphal literature. The oldest Spanish sacramentary containing a mass for this feast-day is the *Sacramentary of Vich*. The prayers for Philip and James in this book are not very specific and do hardly add to a more outspoken profile of the apostles or their feast. In the *praefatio*, however, which forms the beginning of the eucharistic prayer as such and precedes the sung *Sanctus*, the *Vicennense* stresses the apostles' significance to the development of the Christian church:

---

[80] *Sacramentarium Gellonense*, 931: *Deus, qui es omnium sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis, quibusque hunc diem beatorum apostulorum tuorum Phylyppi et Iacobi martirio consecrasti*… Dumas and Deshusses (eds.), CCSL 159, p. 125.

[81] Paredi (ed.), *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, pp. 237–238.

> It is just and worthy [that we praise you,] eternal God. For you have fortified your church through the strength of your apostles, of whose fellowship the blessed Philip and James form part. And we venerate the feast of their passion today, asking that, just as we are instructed by their doctrines, we may be protected by their examples and helped by their prayers. Through Christ our Lord.[82]

The text, similar to the *praefatio* in the Supplement to the *Gregorianum Hadrianum*, is a relevant document testifying to the importance of the apostles who are commemorated as founders of the worldwide *ecclesia*, and, through this commemoration, evoked as builders of the Christian community in the present. This will be worked out further in chapter 6.1.

The *Vicennense* is the earliest source of the Old Spanish liturgy containing a mass in commemoration of Philip and James as a pair. But in older Spanish traditions, reflected by the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, traces of a separate feast-day of James the Less in the week following Christmas (Christmas-Octave) are found. Clearly the mass *In diem sancti Iacobi fratris Domini* is an example of the tradition to celebrate James's ordination in this festive week, as is also testified by the *Breviarium apostolorum* (27 December). Together with Stephen and the two sons of Zebedee—James (the Greater) and John (the Evangelist)—James the Less is celebrated in the shadow of Christ's birth. Next to these New Testament saints, two female martyrs are commemorated in the eight days following Christmas: the virgin martyrs Eugenia and Columba. The commemoration of James the brother of the Lord in the Christmas Octave is specific to the Spanish liturgy and might have its origin in the liturgy of Jerusalem, where the 'first bishop' of the city was commemorated on 25 December.[83]

The Spanish mass in commemoration of James the Less is of particular interest because, in contrast to the eucharistic prayers used for the joint commemoration of Philip and James, the prayers include much material taken from the Latin *Passion of James*, transmitted in the

---

[82] *Sacramentarium Vicennense*, 315: *Vere Dignus. Aeterne Deus, Qui ecclesiam tuam in apostolica soliditate firmasti, de quorum consortio sunt beati Philippus et Iacobus, quorum passionis hodie festum ueneramur poscentes, ut sicut eorum doctrinis instituimur, ita exemplis muniamur, et precibus adiuuemur. Per Christum dominum nostrum*. Olivar (ed.), *El sacramentario de Vich*, p. 46.

[83] *Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem*; A. Renoux (ed.), *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121* (Turnhout, 1969 = Patrologia orientalis 35, 2 vols.), vol. 1 (introduction), pp. 73–75; vol. 2 (edition), nr 71, p. 367. Cfr A. Baumstark, 'Orientalisches in altspanischer Liturgie', in *Oriens Christianus* 32 (1935), 1–37, at 17; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, pp. 207–208.

Collection of Pseudo-Abdias as discussed above. It is therefore worthwhile to present a short analysis of this mass, although there is no connection with the apostle Philip here.

The *Missa in diem sancti Iacobi fratris Domini* contains nine prayers, all of which make abundant use of the *Passion of James*. In the first prayer (LMS 137), virginity and purity are praised in James and recommended to the faithful, who are urged to imitate the apostle's example. Reference is made to the apostle's nickname 'brother of the Lord', and to his ministry in the temple. Here the liturgical text follows the passion text very closely. Martyrdom and a pure life have brought the apostle to the crown in the highest heaven.

The second prayer (LMS 138) is a similar praise of virginity. In this text, James is put next to John the Evangelist, celebrated the day after James in the Spanish Christmas Octave (29 December).[84] In this prayer James is referred to by his second nickname: the Just (*uiri iusti*). The prayer is an important example of adaptation of apocryphal material in a liturgical context, so that a new contextualized meaning develops. Thus, the prayer rethinks the importance of martyrdom and a pure or chaste life. Physical martyrdom (*cruoris efussio*) is, according to this prayer, of equal weight to Christ's judgement as a spotless soul (*integritas mentis*). Another example is the crucial role of the apostles, arch founders of the worldwide church, to the Christian community of the present day: it concludes with the plea for protection and liberation of the church through the apostle James, which was initially built by the latter's teaching (*doctrina*).

The prayer *post nomina* (LMS 139), recited after the names of the faithful, living and dead, were mentioned, concentrates again on the epithet *Iustus*. The faithful pray for conversion through change in conduct (*mutatis moribus*), so that they become 'supporters of justice and followers of mercy' (*tam iustitie cultores quam misericordie sectatores*).

The prayer *ad pacem* (LMS 140), accompanying the kiss of peace, already refers to James's fall from the roof or pinnacle of the temple in Jerusalem. The theme is worked out in much more detail in the prayer of offering, *inlatio* (LMS 141), one of the most important texts of the mass as far as the connection with the *Passio* is concerned. After, again, ample reference to the apostle's nickname 'the Just', the events of his martyrdom are summarized in considerable detail:

[84] See the previous footnote.

> … he was lifted up by them to the pinnacle of the temple and, thrown down from there, he was covered with stones for the sake of your son's name and buried. And while he was struck with so many stones, and with whatever so many whips, he testified amidst these final tortures to your mercy, the friend of your love. And he, remembering the orders of his master and Lord, offered his back to his persecutors to be smitten, and asked with his tearful prayer that you o Lord would spare them.[85]

The text refers to Isaiah 50:6: 'I offered my back to those who beat me' (*corpus meum dedi percutientibus*), and to Jesus's command 'to pray for those who persecute you' (Mt. 5:44; cfr Lk. 23:34).

The prayer after the *Sanctus* (LMS 142) also refers to James's passion, and mentions the apostle's kinship to Jesus. Like the second prayer of this mass, the merits of the apostle for the universal church are evoked in the current ecclesiastical context for the benefit of the faithful here and now.

The prayer after the consecration (*Post pridie*; LMS 143) returns to the theme of justice, and concentrates further on the eucharistic sacrament itself. In the prayer preceding the *Pater Noster* (*Ad orationem dominicam*, LMS 144) James's kinship with the Lord is stressed, which renders the apostle to a particularly powerful intermediary. In this theme an explanation can be found for the position of James's commemoration so close to Christmas.

In the *Benedictio* (LMS 145), the blessing pronounced just before communion in the Gallican and Old Spanish rites, James's martyrdom in Jerusalem is again at the centre of attention:

> *Benedictio*
>
> Christ our Lord, whom James did not fear to preach among the assembled Pharisees, may render you fearless to speak for the defence of his name. Amen.
>
> And [Christ] may lift you up towards heaven through the prayers of him whom he permitted to be cast down (*precipitari*) through the hands of the persecutors headlong from on high. Amen.

[85] *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, 141: … *quum ab eis et templi sublimatur pinnaculo, et inde deiectus pro nomine filii tui lapidibus impressus obruitur. Qui dum tot tunderetur saxis, quotque flagellis, inter suprema supplicia aduocat misericordiam tue pietatis amicam; non inmemor preceptorum magistri et domini, persecutoribus ad percutiendum terga prepebat, et parciturum te dominum his flebili oratione rogabat.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 48.

> So that you may come to him to be rewarded, while you reject the present life, with whom this same apostle now with dashed brains (*conlisis cerebris*) rejoices in the fulfilled glory of his passion. Amen.[86]

In the words *precipitari* and *conlisis cerebris*, the prayer follows the exact wording of the *Passion*.[87]

All in all, the mass for James the Less in the Christmas Octave according to the rite of early medieval Spain is an important example of reception and incorporation of apocryphal material in a liturgical text. All prayers refer to the *Passion*, concentrating on James's justice, his kinship with Jesus and his martyrdom in Jerusalem. Notions of chastity and purity, mentioned in the *Passion*, are adapted to the specific Christian community that uses these prayers. The same goes for James's merits as a founder of the church, which is commemorated in order to strengthen the Christian community of the present day. The *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* is the only early medieval source in which this separate mass for James is found. This commemoration, which has its roots possibly in the liturgy of Jerusalem, is presumably of an earlier date than the 'Roman' feast-day of Philip and James as a pair, which was founded after the dedication of the Roman church to Philip and James in the 560s. We will return to this matter in the next section where the material for the liturgy of the hours is discussed.

4.3. *England*

The most important eucharistic source of English origin, as far as the commemoration of Philip and James on 1 May is concerned, is the *Canterbury Benedictional*. In this book, three prayers for the feast-day are transmitted. These prayers are worthy to be translated entirely.

> *Benedictio in natale apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi*
>
> God, who has sanctified (*sanxit*) the honourable solemnity of this day with the glorification of the blessed apostles Philip and James, may inflame your hearts (*mentes*) with the fire of their twin love, he may enlighten you

[86] *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, 145: *Christus dominus, quem predicare inter phariseorum cuneos Iacobus non ueretur, intrepidos uos pro sui nominis defensione efficiat ad loquendum. Amen. Eiusque precibus uos sustollat in celo, quem pro se passus est persequentium manibus precipitari ex alto. Amen. Ut ad eum presentem respuentes uitam remunerati perueniatis, cum quo nunc idem apostolus conlisis cerebris letatur de consummata gloria passionis. Amen.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 50.

[87] Cfr *Passio Iacobi*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 605–607.

with the shining of his eternal light and he may fertilize you with the abundance of his blessing. [*Amen*]

And he, who through this lamp (*os lampadis*), the holy Philip, revealed[88] the light of faith in him to the gentiles, and refuted the savageness and falsehood of the Jewish disbelief through James, the brother of the Lord, may through the merits of them both deliver you in his mercy from every darkness of sin; he in his light may illuminate you with the torch of the knowledge of him; he may strengthen you with the integrity of the catholic faith, and he may augment you with the increase of all spiritual gifts. [*Amen*]

So that through their intercession you may be deigned worthy to acquire a share in the heavenly inheritance, who celebrate today the solemn feast of them both under one veneration. [*Amen*]

May he deign to grant ...[89]

The benediction for Philip and James together refers first to the etymology of Philip's name as it is found in the *Breviarium apostolorum* and preserved in the *Legenda aurea*. Also, some apocryphal material taken from the acts of both apostles is incorporated. Philip's preaching to the gentiles and James's work among the Jews is emphasized, thus presenting the pair as bringing the gospel to Jews and gentiles alike.

The *Canterbury Benedictional* contains two more blessings for the feast of 1 May, for each of the apostles separately. The text for James is based on canonical material:

Benedictio de sancto Iacobo apostolo fratre Domini

May God surround you with his mercy through the merits and intercessions of the blessed apostle James, and may he gladden you with the harmony of his eternal peace. Amen.

And he who was deemed worthy to be mentioned 'brother of the Lord' may help you to become such, so that you can be called here and in heaven children of God. Amen.

---

[88] Woolley gives *apparuit* (see the following footnote), but Moeller suggests to read *aperuit*. D. Moeller, *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium* (Turnhout, 1971 = CCSL 162A), vol. 2, p. 447.

[89] *Deus qui presentis diei sollempnitatem beatorum apostolorum philippi et iacobi glorificatione sanxit honorabilem, mentes uestras ardore gemine dilectionis inflammet, sempiterne lucis splendore perlustret, suaeque benedictionis ubertate fecundet. [Amen] Quique per os lampadis sanctum philippum gentibus suae fidei lumen apparuit, perque iacobum fratrem domini incredulitatis iudaicae seuitiam perfidiamque redarguit, uos amborum meritis omni errorum caligine miseratus euacuet, agnitionis suae facula serenus irradiet, catholice fidei integritate consolidet, omniumque spiritualium carismatum incrementis accumulet. [Amen] Quatinus eorum interuentu superne hereditatis adipisci mereamini portionem,*

> And may he who, because of his immense holiness, is called James the Just, pull you away from your sins through his prayers, and make you just with all virtues. Amen.
>
> May he deign to grant …[90]

James's qualification as 'brother of the Lord' is found in the canonical New Testament, as is discussed above. James's kinship with Jesus is emphasized in the same way as in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*. The fact that James was a brother of Christ makes his intercession particularly powerful and paves the way for the faithful to become children of God.

The blessing for Philip is remarkable in the light of the first text, in commemoration of both apostles, since it also includes the etymology of Philip's name *os lampadis*. The orthography in both texts is confusing:

> *Benedictio de sancto Philippo apostolo*
>
> The holy Spirit who taught the apostles the diversity of all languages may, through the support of the holy apostle Philip, purge you from the stain of your sins and may fill you with the abundance of his graces. Amen.
>
> And he who shines brightly through the interpretation of his name as the mouth of a lamp (*hos* lampadis*) may liberate you through his prayer from all temptation. Amen.
>
> And may he not refuse to pray for you, for whom Christ deigned to shed his blood. *Amen.*
>
> May he deign to grant …[91]
>
> * hos] *leg.* os

It is important to note that Philip is associated in this text with the gift of languages and tongues. This theme is very popular in the Latin apocryphal traditions on the apostles. The ability of the apostles to speak all languages of the world occurs in various chapters in the

---

quorum hodierna die sub una ueneratione festiuitatem caelebratis sollempnem. [Amen] Quod ipse prestare dignetur. Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 92.

[90] *Meritis et intercessionibus beati iacobi apostoli sua uos deus circumdet misericordia, et aeternae pacis letificet concordia. Amen. Et qui frater domini meruit appellari, uos tales existere adiuuet, ut hic et in caelo filii dei possitis nuncupari. Amen. Quique ob inmensam sanctitatem iustus est iacobus dictus, intercedendo uos a uestris abstrahat iniquitatibus, omnibusque iustificet uirtutibus. Amen. Quod ipse prestare dignetur*. Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 92.

[91] *Spiritus sanctus qui apostolos omnium docuit diuersitatem linguarum, sancti philippi apostoli suffragiis uos purget a labe culparum, et suarum repleat ubertate gratiarum. Amen. Quique hos lampadis nominis refulget interpretatione, ab omni uos liberet temptatione sua deprecatione. Amen.*

Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, most notably in the sections on Philip, Bartholomew and Matthew.[92] Of course, it might in the case of Philip also indicate a connection with the Irish legend on the apostle, the 'Evernew Tongue'.[93]

In sum, the harvest of apocryphal findings in the eucharistic commemoration of Philip and James is comparatively meagre. The prayers in use in the liturgy of mass for 1 May in Rome, Frankish Gaul, northern Italy, and Spain do not contain much apocryphal material, apart from the fact that both apostles are invariably commemorated as martyrs. The situation is different when we look at texts for a separate commemoration of James, as is found in the early medieval Spanish liturgy. There the apocryphal account of James's martyrdom in Jerusalem is received well. The blessings for 1 May in the *Canterbury Benedictional*, though more specific than the other prayers for this feast-day, refer not so much to apocryphal material but rather to traditions on both apostles generally known in the early church, mainly concerning their provenance and the meaning of their names. The development of a liturgical cult of Philip and James on 1 May seems to confirm, as far as the prayers for the eucharist are concerned, the impression phrased above. Although their cult is testified to in many liturgical sources, the portrait of the apostles is not very characteristic. The analysis of the liturgy of the hours for 1 May only adds to this picture, as will be demonstrated in the following section.

5. *The liturgy of the hours*

The liturgy of the hours for the apostles Philip and James is widely spread, as is demonstrated by the presence of material for this feast-

---

Non dedignetur pro uobis intercedere, pro quibus christus sanguinem suum dignatus est fundere. Amen. Quod ipse prestare dignetur. Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 93.

[92] *Gesta Philippi*, c. 3: … *quomodo denique misisset spiritum sanctum, quem promiserat; qui veniens quasi ignis, sedisset super apostolos duodecim, et omnium linguas ac sermocinationes mentibus apostolorum suorum inseruisset*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 740; *Passio Matthaei*, c. 3: *Non ergo, ut tu putas, istas tantum quatuor, sed omnium gentium etiam linguas scimus, qui eius discipuli sumus, Jesu crucifixi, non mediocriter, sed perfecte. Et ad quamcunque gentem pervenire potuerimus, iam loquelam eius perfecte cognoscimus*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 642; *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 2.4–5 (see chapter 2, footnote 73 and chapter 4, footnote 41).

[93] See above, footnote 60.

day in all 12 antiphonals collected by Hesbert. Both in cathedral and in monastic usage, the celebration of the divine office in commemoration of Philip and James on 1 May was common from the 9th century onwards. In the liturgy of the hours, the two apostles are always celebrated together; there is no separate commemoration of one of the two. In the case of the cathedral office, there is little difference between the distinct antiphonals. The office books of monastic houses correspond to the cathedral office in many instances, but they offer new material as well. The cathedral antiphonals together provide material for the first Vespers, preceding the *natale* proper, the three nocturns, lauds, and the antiphons for the gospel pericope of the feast-day. The monastic books offer a separate office for the day preceding the *natale*, and one for the *natale* itself.

The material for the liturgy of the hours celebrated on the feast-day of Philip and James on 1 May in both cathedral and monastic usage is remarkable for several reasons. First of all much material is derived from *commune* offices for the commemoration of apostles, martyrs or evangelists. Then, the office for Philip and James forms a sharp contrast with the office of Bartholomew in the sense that there is hardly any reference to non-biblical texts in the chants. Most of the antiphons, responsories, and verses are drawn from the canonical Bible. While texts are chosen from a variety of biblical books, the book of Psalms and the gospel of John prevail. The content of the chants inspired by psalms generally concern exhortations to love and praise God, while the honour of the just and holy is also an important theme in these texts. The chants based on the gospel of John are more interesting, for most of them refer to John 14:8–12, a pericope explicitly dealing with the apostle Philip:

> Philip said to him, 'Lord, show us the Father, and we will be satisfied.' Jesus said to him, 'Have I been with you all this time, Philip, and you still do not know me? Whoever has seen me has seen the Father. How can you say, "Show us the Father"? Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father is in me? The words that I say to you I do not speak on my own; but the Father who dwells in me does his works. Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father is in me; but if you do not, then believe me because of the works themselves'. (NRSV)[94]

[94] [8]*dicit ei Philippus Domine ostende nobis Patrem et sufficit nobis* [9]*dicit ei Iesus tanto tempore vobiscum sum et non cognovistis me Philippe qui vidit me vidit et Patrem quomodo tu dicis ostende nobis Patrem* [10]*non credis quia ego in Patre et Pater in me est verba quae ego loquor vobis a me ipso non loquor Pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera* [11]*non creditis quia ego in Patre et Pater in me est* [12]*alioquin propter opera ipsa credite.*

John 14:1–13 is read during the third nocturn of Matins and is meditated upon in Augustine's *Tractatus in Ioannem* 68–71, used during the night office of 1 May.[95] It is, therefore, not surprising to find many chants throughout the hours of the day in which this pericope is quoted, such as *Domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis* (vs. 8), *Tanto tempore vobiscum sum et non cognovistis me, Philippe* (vs. 9), *Si cognovissetis me, et patrem meum utique cognovissetis, et amodo cognoscetis eum et vidistis eum* (vs. 9), and *Philippe, qui videt me videt et patrem meum* (vs. 9). These chants are characteristic of the liturgy of the hours for Philip and James and are used in cathedral and monastic office alike. Other parts of John 14 are also incorporated into the chants for 1 May, such as the beginning of the chapter, John 14:1: *Non turbetur cor vestrum* (vs. 1–2); John 14:15: *Qui diligit me*; and Jesus's address to Thomas: *Ego sum via, veritas et vita* (John 14:6). Likewise various quotations from John 15 found their way into the liturgy of the hours for this feast-day, such as the reference to the vine: *Ego sum vitis vera*, which occurs several times in John 15; the invitation to dwell in the Lord: *Si manseritis in me* (John 15:7) and to remain steadfast in mutual love: *Manete in dilectione* (John 15:9). Also, texts concerning the promise of the holy Spirit and of comfort are incorporated into the office texts, such as *Non vos relinquo orphanos* (John 14:18); *Pacem meam do vobis* (John 14:27), and *Tristicia vestra convertetur* (John 16:20).

The frequent use of John 14 in the chants for the feast-day of Philip and James, most notably of the verses dealing with Philip's question *Ostende nobis patrem*, is in sharp contrast with the absence of any specific reference to the other protagonist of the day. Not a single chant refers to biblical (e.g. the Epistle of James) or extra-biblical material that has to do with James. The general impression given by the texts of the liturgy of the hours is that Philip is the main protagonist of the office of 1 May. The question must be asked if this could indicate that the office texts for 1 May are taken from a feast-day that originally commemorated only Philip, while James was added later. This question remains unanswered.

Despite the central role of Philip in the office chants, this apostle is dealt with only in a biblical context, more specifically some main lines

[95] Various homiliaries give (parts of) Augustine's *Tractatus in Ioannem* 68–71 for the night office of 1 May. These chapters deal with John 14:1–13. E.g.: 12th-century Cluniac office lectionary (R. Étaix, *Homéliaires patristiques latins. Recueil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux* (Paris, 1994), p. 162); 12th-century lectionary of Corbie (ibid., p. 240); and the widespread homiliary of Paul the Deacon (ibid., p. 96).

of Johannine doctrine on the relation of Jesus, God the Father, and the Holy Spirit. Philip's life, acts, and death or passion remain hidden behind these christological digressions. There are only two chants that refer to Philip's life as such, both based on a biblical pericope, namely *Erat autem Philippus a Bethsaida civitate* (John 1:45) on the disciple's origin, and *Angelus Domini locutus est ad Philippum: Surge, et vade contra meridianum, ad viam quae descendit ab Jerusalem in Gaza* (Acts 8:26). Philip's origin, expressed in the chant *Erat autem Philippus* which is used in the Matins of the *Antiphonal of Compiègne*,[96] is also referred to in the entries on this apostle in various martyrological sources and the lists of the apostles (see section 3). However, the second chant, also occurring only in the *Antiphonal of Compiègne* (Matins),[97] is of more relevance to the present investigation. It is a direct quotation of Acts 8:26, the beginning of the episode on the Lukan Philip, the evangelist who became known as the deacon Philip in medieval tradition. The use of this antiphon in the divine office for the feast-day of 1 May seems to imply that in the liturgical practice of the church of Compiègne, in the heart of the development of Carolingian office liturgy, no distinction was made between the apostle Philip and the Philip who was installed as one of the seven helpers of the apostles according to Acts 6. The liturgical practice differs from the martyrological sources discussed in section 3, which do make a distinction between the apostle and the deacon, by appointing a separate feast-day to both.

The divine office in commemoration of the apostles Philip and James strengthens the impression given by the eucharistic liturgy of these apostles and is in sharp contrast with the liturgy of the hours in honour of the apostle Bartholomew. There are no specific references to the apostle James in the first place, and where material is found on details of the life of Philip, they stem from the canonical Bible and do not go back to the apocryphal sources. No references to the apocryphal Acts of these apostles as they circulated in the Latin world are found in the chants for 1 May. The apostles are not even explicitly depicted as martyrs in the chants of the divine office, as is the fact in the liturgy of mass. That they were nevertheless venerated as such is only to be deduced from the frequent choice of chants in use in general offices

[96] Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. 212.
[97] Ibid.

of martyrs. The first responsories of the first nocturn in the monastic *Antiphonal of Hartker* may serve as an example of this theme: *Preciosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus, alleluia*; and, to a lesser extent, *Filiae Hierusalem, venite et videte martyres, cum coronis quibus coronavit eos Dominus in die solemnitatis et laetitiae, alleluia*.[98] For liturgical sources where the apocryphal Acts of these two apostles play a more central role, we will have to turn to a different liturgical genre, the hymn.

6. *Hymns*

The treasure of hymns of the early and central Middle Ages does not provide us with many creations singing the praises of the apostles Philip and James in conjunction. Hymns for the pair are mainly found in manuscripts from the 13th century onwards, and fall therefore beyond the scope of this study. The few hymns dedicated to the pair that are found in manuscripts dating before 1200 refer to the apostles' acts and death or passion only in some general remarks on their preaching and miracle-working, without examining any details. An example of this kind is found among the hymns of the 11th-century Wido of Ivrea.[99] In a collection of Tropes from manuscripts originating in the French realm and dating to the 10th and 11th centuries, a few texts in honour of Philip and James are found. They too are of rather general character, although some specific elements, like the indication of Philip as *os lampadis*, shine through in some of them.[100] Hymns in honour of Philip and James individually turn out to be much richer in the incorporation of apocryphal material. They are found mainly among the hymns originating in early medieval Spain. The collection of Old Spanish hymns contains one hymn in honour of Philip, and several for the commemoration of James the Less.[101]

---

[98] Particularly the latter antiphon is used in the office liturgy of many saints (both martyrs and non-martyrs) who have their feast in Eastertide. Cfr Hesbert, CAO, vol. 4, p. 185.

[99] G.M. Dreves (ed.), *Lateinische Hymnendichter* (Leipzig, 1905 = AH 48), p. 92: *In prima die Madii*.

[100] C. Blume (ed.), *Tropen zum proprium missarum* (Leipzig, 1906 = AH 49), p. 304: *Christe, fave nobis*.

[101] Philip: Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 228–230; James: ibid., pp. 184–190.

6.1. *A hymn in honour of Philip:* Fulget coruscans

The hymn for Philip, *Fulget coruscans*, is transmitted in one manuscript of the 10th century, containing a missal and breviary belonging to the church of Silos.[102] The hymn comprises 11 stanzas of each five lines. The comment delivered by Blume to this hymn gives cause to serious doubts as far as the reliability of the edition is concerned: 'Der schlecht überlieferte Text ist um so schwieriger zu emendieren, je anormaler das Latein des Verfassers gewesen zu sein scheint'.[103] It is a problematic text indeed as far as language is concerned, but the fact that Blume intended to 'emend' its peculiarities does not make it easier. By lack of better editions, however, the translation and comments presented here are based on Blume's edition.

The hymn *Fulget coruscans* neatly follows the Latin *Gesta Philippi* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. The hymn sings the praises of Philip's victory over the god Mars and the dragon hidden in its statue; of his miracles and resuscitations; of the planting of a cross on the spot where the idol had been; of the expulsion of the dragon; the conversion of the people; Philip's preaching; and the foundation of the church, including the hierarchy of deacons and priests. The hymn follows the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias also, and quite remarkably, in the tradition of Philip's peaceful demise after he had fulfilled his mission work. In other words, this liturgical text does not treat Philip as a martyr. The description given in stanza 8 of Philip's passing away, finding rest in a 'grave of light' together with two of his daughters the virgins,[104] is remarkably serene. In most cases, the apostles are approached as martyrs, which is reflected in the (Latin) liturgy. General prayers in commemoration of the apostles (*commune apostolorum*) depict the apostles as those who have shed their blood for the faith. Individual cases, however, like this hymn

---

[102] London, BM add. 30846. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 26. In contradiction to what I erroneously stated in Rose, 'Apostelen, magiërs en demonen. Middeleeuwse hymnen voor Matteüs en Filippus en hun apocriefe bronnen', in M. Hoondert et al. (eds.), *Door mensen gezongen. Liturgische muziek in portretten* (Kampen, 2005), pp. 73–90, at 81.

[103] Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 230. The hymn *Fulget coruscans* is on pp. 228–229.

[104] Cfr Eusebius / Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* III.31.3, where mention is made of buried people in Asia Minor who are like sources of light, waiting in their tombs for the coming of the Lord. Among them is Philip with his two daughters. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 2.1, pp. 264–265.

in celebration of Philip, deviate from this rule. This matter shall be discussed further in chapter 6.5.

At that moment he gave up his spirit to God
together with two of his daughters, virgins,
Surrounded by this light he knew the Spirit [?]
and he was buried in a grave of light
where he awaits the foreseeing of the glory of God.[105]

From a linguistic point of view this stanza is not without ambivalence, as it is not entirely clear to whom the visionary qualities, hidden in the word *provisum*, are attributed. Traditionally they belong to Philip's daughters, who were prophetesses as we have seen above, but here the singular endings of the verbs *scivit*, *humatur*, and *manet*, as well as the male ending of *saeptus*, seem to point to Philip as the subject of this passage. Philip's daughters do play a role in the liturgy in honour of this apostle, but it is very modest. The role of the female companions of the apostles will be discussed further in chapter 6.4.1.

Apart from the remarkable absence of martyrdom, the hymn in honour of Philip is interesting because it describes the apostle as founder of the church in successive stages. The first task of the apostle after arriving in his mission area is the clearing of the path for the new religion he preaches. The influence of the local religion has to be broken and the ground has to be prepared to sow the seed of Christianity. In the hymn, as in the *Gesta Philippi* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, the local religion is depicted as a deceptive sham, which strikes the people with fake illnesses and heals them with fake cures. Only the apostle, depicted as the missionary of a new truth, is able to bring real healing. Thus the two tribunes and the priest's son *quos draco prostaverat*, mentioned in stanza 3, are liberated by Philip:

Miracles happened through the hand of the apostle:
Two tribunes, whom the dragon had overthrown,
And the son of the priest, making the offering,
They all regained the good fortune of liberty
And gave multiple thanks to God.[106]

---

[105] *Ex tunc ad Deum emisit spiritum / Et duae eius virgines et filiae, / Haec luce saeptus scivit inspiramine, / Humatur quoque sepulcrali lumine, / Ibi provisum Dei manet gloriae.* The third sentence is read by Blume as *Ex luce septem scit per inspiramine*, but I am not sure if this suggestion solves the problem; maybe *haec* should be interpreted *hac*. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 229.

[106] *Fiunt virtutes per manus apostoli: / Duo tribuni, quos dracos prostaverat, / Seu filius sacrificans pontificis / Recuperabant prospera libertatis / Et reddunt Deo gratias multimodas.*

The cause of the people's misery is sent away to 'solitude', as it is written in stanza 4:

> Then this very dragon, who had ruled so savagely,
> in praise of Christ remained [in] solitude.[107]

In the Latin *Gesta Philippi*, the place where the dragon is banned is described as 'the desert, where humans have no access, and where no service is provided to human conveniences, so that when you go there you cannot harm anyone'.[108]

The hymn continues with a reference to Philip's preaching to and conversion of the people. This is an important element in the hymn, also touching on general matters concerning the veneration of the apostles, namely the way liturgical texts deal with the role of the apostles as preachers of the gospel. Many liturgical texts mention this prime quality of the apostles. In this hymn, however, the theme is developed more elaborately. In stanza 6, the content of Philip's preaching is summarized briefly: he made known the *magnalia Dei*, namely the incarnation, the virgin-birth, Christ's dwelling on earth working miracles, his passion, resurrection, and ascension.[109] The *historia salutis* is presented in the nutshell of one stanza of a liturgical hymn. This matter will be explored further in chapter 6.3, where the content of the apostles' preaching as it is incorporated into liturgical texts is looked at more closely.

Philip's earthly existence is completed with the foundation of the church:

> After that the blessed man called the people to him,
> he assigned deacons and priests to be appointed,
> the enormous temples of the gods to be destroyed,
> holy churches to be erected,
> and the people to be converted from the error of the heretics.[110]

The hymn describes the development of a Christian community in this region as a replacement of the pagan cult by the new religion, which becomes concrete in the destruction of pagan sanctuaries to

---

[107] *Tunc draco ipse, qui praeerat saevius, / In Christi laudem solitudo permanet.* Should *solitudine* be read instead of *solitudo*?

[108] *Gesta Philippi*, c. 2: ... *loco deserto, ubi non est accessus hominum, et nulla utilitas humanis commodis ministratur, ita ut vadens nemini noceas*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 739. Cfr *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 6.17.

[109] *Auditum fecit Domini magnalia, / Quomodo venit virgineque prodiit, / In mundo isto miraculis claruit / Et post in finem passionem suscepit, / Inde resurgens et ad polum rediens*.

[110] *Post haec beatus vocat ad se populos, / Levitas iubet, sacerdotes fieri, / Deorum templa nimia destruere / Ecclesiarumque sancta erigere, / Haereticorum de errore redire*.

the benefit of *ecclesiarum sancta*. The hymn also explicitly mentions the development of a hierarchic structure. In this, though, the liturgical text is less specific than the Latin *Gesta Philippi* of the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias which mentions a threefold ordination of *presbyteri, diacones* and *episcopus*,[111] while the hymn confines itself to *levitas* and *sacerdotes*.

6.2. *Hymns in honour of James the Less*

In the case of the apostle James the Less, it is difficult to find out if the two hymns transmitted in Blume's collection of 'Mozarabic' hymns go back to the section on James in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias or directly to the historical sources. At any rate, both hymns in the Old Spanish collection, one for James's *natale* and one for the commemoration of the translation of his relics, incorporate the events of this apostle's life and martyrdom. The first hymn, *Clarum nobis Christe*, is transmitted in a manuscript of the late 11th century, containing the breviary of the monastery San Millan de la Cogolla.[112] The hymn, comprising eight stanzas, mentions the main points known about James, be it through apocryphal or historiographical sources—in the case of James, these are merged. In the first stanza, James is presented as Christ's brother (*frater affinis*), who, according to the second stanza, was worthy to enter the holy of holies as a priest (*pontifex*). The reference to his offering 'blood and water' (*corporis tui sacrator sanguinis et laticis*) is not so easy to interpret with the help of the narrative sources. In the third stanza, James's nickname *Iustus* is mentioned, and in the fourth and fifth stanzas, the account of his martyrdom appears:

> 4. Then he was thrown from high
> by the zeal of the Pharisees,
> while he was continually preaching
> the faith in your name to all
> as the rule to obtain the grace
> of life and truth.[113]

[111] *Gesta Philippi*, c. 3: *Ipse vero apostolus ordinatis presbyteris et diaconibus, ordinato etiam episcopo, et ecclesiis multis constructis, per revelationem in Asiam reversus est et in civitate Hierapoli exinde commorabatur*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 740.

[112] Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 23–24. The hymn is on p. 184.

[113] *Tunc pharisaeorum zelo / fidem tui nominis / ex alto praecipitatus / constans cunctis praedicat, / normam vitae veritatis / ad sequendam gratiam.*

5. And immediately a man
of ferocious spirit
with a nefarious attempt
beat the holy head with a fuller's stick,
and thus the holy man, his body spread on earth,
gave up his spirit to heaven.[114]

The remaining stanzas of the hymn contain an address to Christ, to deliver the faithful from sin and grant them grace.

The hymn *Clara sanctorum una, Hierusalem*, for the Vespers of the commemoration of the translation of relics, is transmitted in three manuscripts: a 10th-century manuscript from Toledo Cathedral, which contains a psalter, a hymnal, and some additional hymns;[115] a 10th-century missal with breviary from Silos;[116] and an 11th-century psalter with hymnal from Silos.[117] The hymn follows the story of James's martyrdom as found in Hegesippus's account, which is incorporated into the second part of the *Passion of James* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. James is presented as the priest in the temple in Jerusalem, who alone was worthy to enter the holy of holies.[118] He was asked by the Jews to deny Christ, but on his proclamation of the reverse, was clubbed to death.

The hymns in commemoration of Philip and James in the Old Spanish tradition are rich of material derived from extra-biblical sources. In the case of Philip, the influence of the Latin *Gesta Philippi* as transmitted in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias is evident. In the case of James, it is less easy to determine if the same source is used or whether the hymn goes back to the historiographical accounts on James, mainly Hegesippus / Eusebius. Since Pseudo-Abdias is influenced importantly by the material in Eusebius, it is hardly adequate to make a sharp distinction between the two. The hymns in honour of Philip and James of the Spanish rite are important evidence of a strong relation between liturgical and apocryphal documents on the apostles.

---

[114] *Protinus feroci mente / unus sancto capiti / pertica fullonis ausu / percussit nefario, / sicque sanctus membra tello, / spiritum fudit caelo.*

[115] Madrid 1005 (olim Toledo, chapter 35.1). Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 21.

[116] London, BM add. 30855. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 25.

[117] London, BM add. 30851. This manuscript is edited by J.P. Gilson, *The Mozarabic Psalter* (London, 1905 = HBS 30).

[118] Cfr Eusebius / Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* II.23.6: *huic soli licebat introire in sancta sanctorum*. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 2.1, p. 167.

7. *Conclusion*

The liturgical commemoration of Philip and James gives a varied impression of the use of apocryphal material in liturgical texts. Whereas the oldest material for a celebration of mass in honour of the pair (1 May) does not incorporate many features of the apocryphal literature, the liturgical compositions that concentrate on one of the two tend to focus more on narrative sources. This is visible in the texts of the Spanish mass in honour of James as well as in the episcopal blessings collected in the *Canterbury Benedictional*. Use of apocryphal material is entirely absent in the oldest chants collected for the liturgy of the hours, but the apocryphal narrative is used more abundantly in hymns.

In general, there are some remarkable features in the liturgical commemoration of Philip and James, such as the varying approach to Philip as a martyr or a non-martyr, and the importance of the apostles as representatives of the collegium of 12 apostles more than as individuals. The latter occurs most notably in the prayers of the Gregorian and Gelasian traditions of eucharistic liturgy. Both features will be discussed more elaborately in chapter 6.

CHAPTER FOUR

MATTHEW: SINNER AND SAINT

The medieval cult of the apostle and evangelist Matthew seems to have attracted little interest so far in the scholarly world. Not much can be found on the spread of his cult or on the role Matthew played in medieval liturgical traditions.[1] The apocryphal acts of this apostle are not widely studied either; as far as Matthew is concerned, it is the gospel attributed to him as Pseudo-Matthew, more generally known as the *Infancy Gospel*, that has caught the eye of researchers.[2] Nonetheless, the apostle Matthew is an interesting figure in the context of the present investigation. A rich tradition of legendary and liturgical texts on Matthew has survived. The connections between them make it possible to draw some conclusions concerning the function of this apostle's cult in different political and cultural centres of the medieval West. As far as the early medieval period is concerned, little is known about the spread of this apostle's relics and about the development of the cult in terms of local and chronological distribution. From the mid-10th century, however, when relics of the apostle arrived in Brittany and from there moved on to southern Italy, the development of the cult and its significance is easier to trace.

1. *Development of the cult*

The apostle Matthew is well known in the canonical gospels as the disciple who was summoned from the tax-booth to join Jesus (Mt. 9:9; Mk. 2:14–17; Lk. 5:27–28). His name is included in the list of the twelve apostles in Acts 1:13–14. The identification of the tax collector with the later disciple and apostle Matthew is based on the

[1] Little is found on Matthew in general introductions to the saints in Latin liturgy, such as Kellner, *Heortologie*; Auf der Maur and Harnoncourt, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit II*; Kennedy, *Saints of the canon.*

[2] R. Beyers and J. Gijsel (eds.), *Libri de natiuitate Mariae* (Turnhout, 1997 = CCSA 9–10).

account of Mt. 9:9*s*.[3] Apart from the eye-catching entrée in the circle of Jesus's followers, the books of the canonical Bible do not record anything on Matthew's life and death. For this, we have to turn to extra-biblical sources. Many different and sometimes contradictory traditions circulated in the early church.[4] Palestine (Clement of Alexandria), Ethiopia (Rufinus, Sokrates), Parthia (Paulinus of Nola), and even Persia (Ambrose) are mentioned as Matthew's mission fields,[5] as is Ireland.[6] Generally, Matthew is venerated as a martyr. The tradition of a natural death, found in the work of Clement of Alexandria with reference to the 2nd-century Valentinian Heracleon,[7] did not find wide acceptance.

From the 2nd century onwards, the first of the canonical gospels was attributed to the apostle Matthew. The first indication for this attribution stems from the 2nd-century author Papias, referred to in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Eusebius, where Matthew is said to have written his gospel in the Hebrew language.[8] In the early Christian tradition (e.g. in the view of Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria), the evangelist was equated with the apostle, and this identification has never changed thereafter.[9] In the following sections, dealing with the liturgical texts composed for the apostle's feast-day, we shall see that Matthew's role as an evangelist became very important to the liturgical veneration of this apostle.

The earliest evidence that a church was dedicated to Matthew in the West is found in the signatures of the Acts of the Council of Rome of AD 499. Among the subscriptions is one of a priest attached to the 'church of St Matthew'.[10] In most churches of the West, Matthew's feast-day

---

[3] J. Schmid, 'Matthäus, Apostel', in LThK VII (1962), cols. 172–173, at col. 172.

[4] J. Engemann, 'Matthaeus, Apostel', in LMA VI, col. 396.

[5] Schmid, 'Matthäus', col. 172.

[6] F. Spadafora, 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* IX, col. 120, with reference to F. Haase, *Apostel und Evangelisten in den orientalischen Überlieferungen* (Münster, 1932).

[7] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* IV.71.3; cfr H.R. Seeliger, 'Matthäus: Verehrung', in LThK VI (1997), cols. 1477–1478, at col. 1477.

[8] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.39.16; also III.24.6 and VI.25.4; cfr Engemann, 'Matthaeus', col. 396; A. Sand, 'Matthäusevangelium', in LThK VI (1997), cols. 1479–1482, at col. 1481.

[9] Engemann, 'Matthaeus', col. 396; Sand, 'Matthäusevangelium', col. 1482.

[10] Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 124; see also pp. 386–387. Cfr Jounel, 'Le culte des apôtres à Rome', p. 171.

is celebrated on 21 September.[11] It is unclear on what source the date of his feast-day is based. To make things more complicated, the Greek and Latin calendars differ on the date of Matthew's *natale*. Thus he is celebrated on 16 November in the Greek church, but on 9 October in the Coptic church.[12]

Landmarks in the cult of Matthew are a double *inventio* of 'relics'. There was the translation of the apostle's bodily remains to Salerno in 954 and the *inventio* of the same in the final decades of the 11th century, but also and much earlier the 'finding' of his gospel in the late 5th century. The latter event can be regarded as a kind of *inventio* of relics as well; at any rate it had a similar impact on the development of Matthew's cult as the finding of physical remains of the apostle did. The story of Matthew's gospel found on the breast of the apostle Barnabas is included in the early martyrological sources and lists of apostles, and will be considered more extensively in section 3 below.

The fortunes of Matthew's bodily relics in the West give an interesting view on the importance of this apostle's cult to various regions of medieval western Europe in different epochs. Legend has it that relics were brought from Ethiopia to Finistère in Brittany.[13] So far, the relics' travels are difficult to date.[14] The same goes for their transfer from Brittany to South Italy, where they landed in Paestum.[15] From there the relics were brought to Salerno in 954. The actor in this translation was considered to be the prince of Salerno, Gisulf I († 977), who ruled the city from 946 onwards.[16] Parallel to the neighbouring city Benevento,

[11] R. van Doren, 'Mattheüs', in LWb II, col. 1679.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Various churches in Brittany are dedicated to the apostle and evangelist, of which the monastery Saint-Matthieu du Finistère (Saint-Mahé-Fine-Terre), at the utmost point of the Breton mainland, is the most famous. De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie salernitaine', p. 102.

[14] De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie salernitaine'. According to an 11th-century sermon on the relic translation, the arrival of the relics in Brittany would have taken place during the reign of a certain Salomon. De Gaiffier dismisses earlier attempts to date this possibly non-historical king to the 5th (Talamo Atenolfi) or 8th century (Plaine), without giving an alternative. De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie salernitaine', pp. 87–89.

[15] Ibid., p. 82.

[16] *In translatione sancti Matthaei apostoli et evangelistae*. G. Talamo Atenolfi (ed.), *I testi medioevali degli atti di S. Matteo l'evangelista* (Rome, 1958), p. 100. This work was written most probably by a member of the Salernitan clergy, and can be dated to the end of the 10th century. It is found in two Monte Cassino manuscripts (101, 110) of the 11th century. Talamo Atenolfi, *Testi medioevali degli atti di S. Matteo*, pp. 46–47; De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie salernitaine', pp. 96–100.

that possessed the relics of Bartholomew from the middle of the 9th century, the capture of relics was an important reinforcement of the Salerno region.[17]

The role of Matthew's relics became even more significant in the 11th century. The political situation in southern Italy from the 9th to 11th centuries was one of political unrest. Instability was caused first, in the 9th century, by the Arabic attacks on the Lombard and Byzantine domains, and then, from the 11th century onwards, by the invasions of the Normans.[18] For safety's sake, Matthew's relics were hidden for a long time, both in Paestum and later in Salerno, where they passed into oblivion. Relative stability returned to the region when the Norman Robert Guiscard concluded an alliance with the pope, and pledged himself as a vassal to Nicholas II in 1059.[19] The relics of Matthew, nearly forgotten,[20] were rediscovered for a second time, an *inventio* attributed to archbishop Alfanus of Salerno, who received the written congratulations of pope Gregory VII for this felicitous event.[21] Together with the Norman ruler Robert Guiscard, Alfanus built a cathedral to form a new resting place for Matthew's bodily remains.[22] The church was consecrated and dedicated to the apostle

---

[17] De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie salernitaine', p. 95. De Gaiffier assumes that the account of the finding of Matthew's relics in Paestum and their *translatio* to Salerno is modelled on the story of the translation of Bartholomew's relics from Lipari to Benevento, 'Hagiographie salernitaine', p. 92. The apostles Matthew and Bartholomew are linked in a very early stage of the history of Christianity. In some canonical lists of disciples, their names are put next to each other (Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:14–15; Acts 1:13), and in Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (V.10.3) the gospel of Matthew is said to have been preached by Bartholomew. Cfr D. Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Matthieu', in ÉAC 2, pp. 808–835, at 811.

[18] Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*; see also M.-A. Dell'Omo, 'Italien', in LMA V, col. 752.

[19] Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 129–130; 186–194, who describes the 'vassalic oath' between Guiscard and the pope as a political relation of equality, offering acknowledgement and support of the church to the Norman. 'The papacy needed [Guiscard] far more than he needed it' (p. 190).

[20] Although Salerno's cathedral had been dedicated to Matthew already during the episcopate of bishop Bernard I (848–859). Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne*, vol. 1, p. 86.

[21] In a letter dated 18 September 1080; P. Jaffé and W. Wattenbach (eds.), *Regesta pontificum romanorum* (Leipzig, 1885, 2 vols.), vol. 1, p. 637; Spadafora, 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo', col. 124.

[22] Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 140; P. Delogu, 'Alfanus', in LMA I, cols. 389–390, at col. 390.

and evangelist by Gregory VII in 1084.[23] It is a happy coincidence that archbishop Alfanus left us a collection of hymns in which several texts in honour of Matthew are to be found. These hymns and the importance of Matthew's patronage to southern Italy in the latter part of the 11th century, an age of political and ecclesiastical reform, will be discussed in section 6 of this chapter.

In iconographic sources Matthew is often depicted as an evangelist. The oldest image of Matthew is found in the Catacombs of Mark and Marcellus (before 340) in Rome. Later on, Matthew is depicted together with the other evangelists in the vault of the Lateran Baptistery (5th century), of which only a later drawing is preserved.[24] In medieval iconography as well, Matthew is most often depicted as an evangelist, accompanied by the symbol of the man. Based on the prophetic visions of Ezechiel (1:1–28) and the book of Revelation (Apoc. 4:1–11), the association of Matthew with a human figure was canonized by Jerome and explained by the special interest shown in the first gospel to Christ's incarnation and human generation.[25] When depicted as an apostle, Matthew holds a spear, sword or halberd as symbols of his martyrdom. Sometimes he is depicted with a money-bag, referring to his past as a tax collector, or even with spectacles (in the later Middle Ages), indicating his reading of the account-books.[26]

2. *Apocryphal traditions*

As is the case with the apostle Bartholomew, no ancient Greek 'Acts of Matthew' are transmitted. Apocryphal traditions are limited to an account of the apostle's martyrdom transmitted both in Greek and in Latin. Yet this *martyrium* is closely connected to the ancient Greek *Acts of Andrew and Matthew among the cannibals*.[27]

---

[23] Spadafora, 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo', col. 124; Van Doren, 'Mattheüs', col. 1679.

[24] P. Cannata, 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo: iconografia', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* IX, col. 129.

[25] M. Woelk, 'Matthäus: Ikonographie', in LThK VI (1997), col. 1478.

[26] Farmer (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p. 359.

[27] Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 109. See on the relation between the two texts F. Amsler and B. Bouvier (trans.), 'Martyre de Matthieu', in ÉAC 2, pp. 539–564, at 541–542.

The originally Greek *Martyrium Matthaei* is transmitted in two recensions, of which the first version is preserved in two manuscripts of the 10th and 11th centuries, and the second in three manuscripts of the 11th and 12th centuries.[28] This *Martyrium* has been translated into various languages, including Latin, Armenian, and Old Slavonic. The Latin manuscripts predate the Greek ones and go back to the 8th and 9th centuries, respectively. The text is different from the account on Matthew in the Latin Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, which I shall point to in the following as the *Passio Matthaei*. However, there are important common themes.

2.1. *The Greek* Martyrium Matthaei *and its medieval Latin translation*

The *Martyrium Matthaei* is set in the context of Matthew's mission to the land of the Persians, who were cannibals, according to the *Martyrium*.[29] Main characters, apart from Matthew himself, are Plato, who was already a bishop before Matthew's arrival, and the local ruler: King Bufa, his wife Queen Bulfa, and their son Bulfandrus together with his wife.[30] The struggle between the apostle and the local ruler starts after Matthew has liberated the queen and her son and daughter-in-law from demonic possession.[31] The demon then takes possession of the king, and inspires him to persecute Matthew. The king commands that Matthew is brought to the shore, fixed with nails and set to fire. The first two attempts fail because of the force of Matthew's prayer, for which the author invents some words that sound like Hebrew:

> *Adonay elooc sabaoth morimal monit*, that is, My Father and my God Jesus Christ, deliver me and burn their idols, which they say are gods, but in reality are the works of man.[32]

---

[28] Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. xxxiii; see also Leloir (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres* (CCSA 4), p. 647. The Greek text is edited by Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 217–262. Alongside the Greek text, Bonnet renders a medieval Latin translation of the capita 9–31, found in two manuscripts from the 9th (Escorial) and 8th (Paris) centuries. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. xxxiii. On the manuscript tradition, see also Amsler and Bouvier, 'Martyre de Matthieu', p. 545.

[29] This summary is based on the medieval Latin translation as found in Bonnet's edition. For a summary of the original, more extended, Greek version, see Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, pp. 109–113.

[30] *Martyrium Matthaei*, c. 28. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 258.

[31] *Martyrium Matthaei*, c. 10. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 227*s*.

[32] *Martyrium Matthaei*, c. 21: ... *hoc est: Pater meus et deus meus Iesu Christe liuera me*

Matthew's supposed fluency in Hebrew corresponds to the widespread tradition that he wrote down his gospel in this language.[33] Eventually the fire kills the apostle, but not before it has destroyed the king's palace and his gold and silver idols.

The final part of the *Martyrium* is the most interesting in the context of this study, because it reveals the first beginnings of a liturgical cult of the apostle Matthew. The king puts Matthew's body on a bier and people are cured by touching it. The apostle's burial by the people he converted is accompanied by a vision of his figure, rising and ascending to heaven, guided by a beautiful boy (*puer pulcerrimus*) and met by 12 men (*alios uiros duodecim uenientes ei in occursum*) who are dressed in splendid clothes and crowned with golden crowns. Matthew is also crowned, by the boy, and then the entire group enters heaven. Plato and the other followers of Matthew celebrate the liturgy in the church and sing the psalm *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius* (Ps. 115:15).[34] A second appearance of the crowned Matthew makes even the king convert. He is baptized and receives the eucharist from Plato's hands. In a vision the king is commanded by Matthew to change his and his son's name to Matthaeus, and to rename his wife Sofia (Wisdom) and his son's wife Nerva (Understanding). Then Matthew ordains the king priest and the queen becomes a deaconess; likewise the king's son and his wife are ordained deacon and deaconess.[35] Matthew himself appoints the king as the new bishop after Plato, and the king's son as the subsequent bishop. The power of the ruler and the episcopal authority are combined on one seat. Here the *Martyrium* corresponds to the Latin *Passion of Bartholomew*, where secular power and episcopal authority are merged into one person on the authority of the apostle.[36] The *Martyrium* is concluded with Christ's own voice from heaven, underlining Matthew's authority as a teacher of God's commandments (*mandata*), set for the entire world.[37]

---

et incende culturas eorum quos dicunt esse deos, opera manuum hominum. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 245–246.

[33] See footnote 8 and section 3 below.

[34] *Martyrium Matthaei*, c. 25. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 253–254.

[35] *Martyrium Matthaei*, c. 28. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 258–259.

[36] See chapter 2.2 and 2.4, as well as chapter 6.4.2. Cfr Amsler and Bouvier, 'Martyre de Matthieu', p. 544 who mention this passage in the *Martyrium Matthaei* as evidence for the new order the apostle installs in a former pagan environment.

[37] *Martyrium Matthaei*, c. 31. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 261–262.

In addition to many differences between the Greek tradition of the *Martyrium Matthaei* and the Latin *Passio Matthaei*, both traditions have a lot of themes in common. Therefore the Latin *Passio* will be presented in the following.

2.2. *The Latin* Passio Matthaei *in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias*

The account about Matthew in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias is closely related to the section on the apostles Simon and Jude, which will be discussed in the following chapter. In his mission area, Matthew fights and chases off two sorcerers, Zaroes and Arphaxat. The two magicians occur again in the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, and are brought to their end by this pair.[38]

The *Passion of Matthew* is situated in Ethiopia,[39] where Matthew goes to the city Nadaver, ruled by a certain Aeglippus. There he meets the two sorcerers Zaroes and Arphaxat, who are venerated as gods by the king and his people. In fact, the sorcerers enchant the people so that they become paralysed, and then free them from this possession as if they were thaumaturges. Here the *Passion of Matthew* corresponds to the *Passion of Bartholomew* in the collection of Pseudo-Abdias, where the demons act in the same way.

The author of the *Passion of Matthew* is concerned with three main themes: the apostle's preaching, his encounter with the sorcerers and other demonic creatures, and his passion. The first act of Matthew upon arrival in the city Nadaver is to lay bare the sorcerers' delusions and to liberate the people from their affliction by making the sign of the cross over them (*facto signo Domini*). In doing this, Matthew is observed by the eunuch called Candacis, baptized by 'the apostle and deacon' Philip.[40] He invites Matthew into his house, where he becomes

[38] See also Alibert et al., 'Passion de Matthieu', p. 813.

[39] Ethiopia is interpreted as the African region to the South of Egypt—Abyssinia (Alibert et al., 'Passion de Matthieu', p. 815 footnote 1; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 139). In Latin hagiography, however, Ethiopia is also an indication of the residence of pre-Christian paganism, without a precise geographical purpose. Cfr J.A.L. Kilburn, 'The contrasted 'other' in the Old English apocryphal Acts of Matthew, Simon and Jude', in *Neophilologus* 87 (2003), 137–151, at 138; Alibert, 'Vision du monde', pp. 223–224.

[40] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 2: *Hunc cum vidisset Aethiops eunuchus Candacis nomine, qui fuerat a Philippo apostolo diacono baptizatus*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 639. According to Lipsius this name *Candacis* is a misinterpretation of Acts 8:27. Lipsius,

a follower of Matthew, as do all his friends. The apostle starts to teach the people and preach the gospel. He is admired because of his eloquence and ability to speak so many languages.[41] Matthew unfolds the main lines of biblical history, beginning with the Tower of Babel and including the incarnation and virgin birth, as well as Christ's death and resurrection. Matthew's preaching is interrupted by a message that the sorcerers are near, each bringing a foul dragon whose breath kills the people. Here the *Passion of Matthew* corresponds to the *Gesta Philippi* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Matthew disarms the dragons with the sign of the cross, and chases them away with an elaborate invocation of the power of Christ in the wording of the apostle's Creed.

After the dragons have silently vanished, Matthew continues his preaching, now about the earthly paradise, the delights of Eden and the fall, caused by the serpent, 'the envious angel'. When Matthew explains the incarnation and the reconquest of paradise, his preaching is again interrupted, this time by the message of the death of the king's son. Helplessly the magicians stand at the boy's death-bed and then shrewdly suggest that the king make a statue of the boy so that he can be venerated as a god. The eunuch, however, intervenes with the queen and persuades her to ask the apostle Matthew to raise the dead boy. The queen, Eufoenissa, who has not yet heard Matthew's preaching, nevertheless entrusts herself to his power and expresses her belief. Matthew raises the boy, called Eufranor, invoking the name of Christ. As a result, the king fears Matthew as if he were a god, and he summons all people to come and adore Matthew: 'Come to the city, and behold God hidden in human likeness'.[42] Matthew quickly denies that he is a god, stressing that he is sent by Christ, 'the son of almighty God', and urges the people to abandon their local cults and to build a church. The church is dedicated to the resurrection and forms Matthew's seat for 23 years.

The ruler, King Aeglippus, is baptized with his family, and the king's daughter, Princess Iphigeneia, dedicates herself, as a virgin, to a life of chastity. The sorcerers flee to the Persians, where we will meet them

---

Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten, vol. 2.2, p. 137. It is interesting to note that Philip is presented here as *apostolus diaconus*, and that the baptism of the eunuch as recounted in Acts 8 is attributed to the apostle and deacon as one person.

[41] Cfr chapter 2, footnote 73; and chapter 3, footnote 92.

[42] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 7: *Venite ad civitatem et videte Deum in effigie hominis latentem*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 651.

again in the following chapter about Simon and Jude. The author of the *Passion* states that the story of Matthew's cures, resurrections, and destructions of pagan sanctuaries is too long to tell and thus quickly continues to the apostle's passion.[43]

The transition to this final part of the account of Matthew's acts is marked by the death of the converted ruler, King Aeglippus, followed by the entrance on stage of the late king's brother Hirtacus. The new ruler is less convinced of the apostle's blessings and fancies a marriage with Princess Iphigeneia. When he hears the apostle's preaching on the blessedness of lawful marriage, he rejoices over the apostle's assumed support. But when it becomes clear that Matthew was in reality referring to Iphigeneia's spiritual union with Christ, Hirtacus becomes very angry and tries to kill the apostle. Matthew lays hands on Iphigeneia and her companions and dedicates them to Christ with a lengthy prayer. After this consecration, the eucharist is celebrated and the people are dismissed. Matthew stays in the church alone, 'so that by the side of the altar, at the same place where he had prepared the body of Christ, he would celebrate apostolic martyrdom' (*martyrium apostolicum*).[44] One blow of the sword delivered by a spy of King Hirtacus makes the apostle a martyr of Christ. The people gather in anger and threaten to attack Hirtacus's palace with fire. They are dissuaded from their feelings of revenge by the clergy and Matthew's disciples, who recall the episode of Peter who, in his attempt to defend Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, drew his sword to chop off the servant Malchus's ear (John 18:10–11). The people are admonished to rejoice in the apostle's martyrdom rather than seek revenge.

The final episode recounts Hirtacus's attempt to set fire to the house where Iphigeneia and her holy virgins reside, but a strong wind changes the fire's direction miraculously so that it destroys Hirtacus's entire palace and all his possessions. Hirtacus tries to escape with his son, who is seized by a demon and confesses his father's sins at the tomb of the apostle. Then Hirtacus is struck by an unredeemable and humiliatingly mutilating disease (*elephantiae vulnera*) and kills himself with the sword: 'a worthy death-penalty: so that he who had killed the apostle of the

[43] According to Lipsius, this might be an indication that the text is an excerpt of an earlier, longer version. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 140.

[44] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 14: … *ut juxta altare, ubi corpus ab eo fuerat Christi confectum, illic martyrium apostolicum exultaret.* Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 664.

Lord from the back, now perforated himself through the stomach'.[45] The people leap for joy and choose Iphigeneia's brother Beor to be their king. He reigns for 63 years and sees his grandchildren until the fourth generation. Under his rule there is peace with Romans and Persians, and thanks to Iphigeneia's piety the entire kingdom of Ethiopia becomes Christian.

> And great wonders happened there in the confession of the blessed apostle, who was the first to write down in the Hebrew language the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns with the Father and the holy Spirit for ever and ever.[46]

The *Passion of Matthew* is remarkable because of its lengthy renditions of Matthew's preaching. The apostle's teaching concerns the main themes of biblical history and Christian doctrine, but the *Passion* also reveals the organization of the Christian life, including marriage and penance (c. 9–11), the consecration of virgins, the sacrament of the eucharist (c. 13), and the organization of the clergy consisting of *presbyteri, diaconi et clerici* (c. 14).

The Latin *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias is not an isolated tradition; it is linked to Matthew-traditions in other languages. First of all, the *Passion* has, despite the many differences, some important features in common with the Greek *Martyrium Matthaei* and its Latin translation. They concern the role of the local ruler and his family, the expelling of demons, and the role fire plays as a means of destruction. Then there is the Coptic / Ethiopian *Acts of Matthew*, where the resurrection of the king's son Eufranor and Matthew's death by the sword are in harmony with the Latin *Passion*.[47] Within the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, there are many analogies between the *Passion of Matthew* and the passions or Acts of other apostles. The magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat recur in the *Acts of Simon and Jude*, whereas the general theme of magicians or demons deceiving the people with fake illnesses and fake cures is in accordance with the *Acts of Bartholomew*. The conversion of the local ruler after the cure or return to life of his son or daughter, as well as the hostility of the converted ruler's brother, is a theme

[45] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 15: … *digno supplicio: ut quo a tergo apostolum Domini percusserat, ipse a recto seipsum stomacho perforaret*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 667.

[46] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 15: *Et fiunt ibi mirabilia magna, ad confessionem beati apostoli, qui primus Hebraeo sermone conscripsit evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat in secula seculorum*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 668.

[47] Thus Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 140. For a more elaborate discussion of the Coptic or Ethiopian *Martyrium Matthaei* see ibid., pp. 128–135.

shared by Matthew and Bartholomew. Other characteristics, which the Latin translation of the *Martyrium Matthaei*, not in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, and the account on Bartholomew in this Collection have in common, such as the ordination of the king and of his wife and children mentioned above, do not recur in the Latin *Passion of Matthew*.

In the following sections the liturgical sources will be examined, particularly their relation to the apocryphal Acts of Matthew. Before the liturgical texts in strict sense are discussed, a presentation will follow of the lists of apostles and martyrological sources, which form an important link between the narrative sources and the evidence of liturgical practice.

3. *Lists of apostles and martyrologies*

3.1. Breviarium apostolorum

In addition to the early patristic traditions and the apocryphal sources rendering the acts of Matthew, important information on the cult of this apostle, as well as on legends of his life and death, is found in the early medieval lists of apostles and martyrological sources. The *Breviarium apostolorum*, to begin with, says in its entry on Matthew:

> Matthew the apostle and evangelist, whose name is interpreted 'the one who is given'. And he received from his tribe the name 'Levi' and was elected by Christ out of the tax-booth. He first preached the gospel in Judea, and after that in Macedonia, and he suffered martyrdom in Persia. He has his resting place in the mountains of the land of the Parthians. 21 September.[48]

By mentioning the lands of Persia and the Parthians, the *Breviarium apostolorum*—not entirely surprising—stands in the Greek tradition of the *Martyrium Matthaei* rather than in the tradition represented by the Latin *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. No mention is made of Ethiopia in the *Breviarium*.

---

[48] *Matheus apostolus et ęuangelista, qui interpretatur donatus; hic etiam ex tribu sua lęui sumpsit cognomen, ex poplicano a christo ęlectus, primo quidem in iudęa ęuangelizauit, postmodum in macedonia, et passus in persida, requiescit in montibus portorum XI kl. octobris. Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis* 3034 (CCSL 159), p. 490. The word *portorum* seems to be an error for *Parthorum*, as is given in *De ortu et obitu* (see below).

3.2. De ortu et obitu patrum

The entry on Matthew in Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum* is much the same as the one in the *Breviarium apostolorum*, but there are some minor variants:

> Matthew the apostle and evangelist, who received from his tribe the name 'Levi', was elected by Christ out of the tax-booth, and transformed from being a sinner. He preached the gospel first in Judea, and after that in Macedonia. He has his resting place in the mountains of the land of the Parthians.[49]

This note does not give an explanation for Matthew's name *donatus*, and it stresses the state of sin from which he was liberated by Christ's calling. Although *De ortu et obitu* is more confined than the entry in the *Breviarium apostolorum*, it corresponds to it in mentioning Judea and Macedonia as Matthew's preaching areas and in mentioning the land of the Parthians as the place where he found his resting place. As far as the final remark is concerned (*in montibus parthorum*), the text of *De ortu et obitu* is helpful to interpret the sentence *in montibus portorum* in the manuscript of the Gellonensis. Contrary to the *Breviarium*, *De ortu et obitu* does not mention Matthew's martyrdom as such.

3.3. Martyrologium Hieronymianum

The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* contains a number of dates of festivities concerning the apostle Matthew, of which 21 September[50] and 6 May are the most interesting. The former became the general date of Matthew's *natale* in the West, while 6 May was dedicated to the commemoration of the translation of relics from the second half of the Middle Ages, most notably in Italy.[51]

---

[49] Isidorus, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, c. 75: *Matheus, apostolus et euangelista, qui etiam ex tribu sua Leui sumpsit cognomen; ex publicano a Christo electus, ex peccante translatus; primum quidem in Iudaea euangelizat, postmodum in Macedonia praedicat; requiescit in montibus Parthorum*. Chaparro Gómez (ed.), *De ortu et obitu patrum*, p. 211.

[50] *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*: *Et in Persida Mathei apostoli*. Delehaye and Quentin (eds.), *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p. 520.

[51] De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie salernitaine', pp. 108–109.

3.4. *Medieval martyrologies: Hrabanus, Florus, Ado, and Usuard*

The medieval martyrologies concentrate on 21 September.[52] They deviate from the *Breviarium apostolorum* and Isidore's *De ortu et obitu* and instead follow the tradition of the Latin *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Hrabanus, Florus, Ado, and Usuard mention Ethiopia as the place of Matthew's martyrdom. Hrabanus follows the *Passion of Matthew* very closely:

> 21 September. The *natale* of the holy evangelist Matthew in Ethiopia. When he had preached there [in Ethiopia] the word of God and converted many to the faith in Christ, at last a spy was sent by King Hirtacus, who killed him with a sword, thus making him a martyr of Christ.[53]

It is remarkable that Hrabanus describes Matthew as an *evangelista*, not as an apostle, even though the Carolingian martyrologist does not refer to the fact that Matthew wrote the gospel, nor to the finding of this gospel. This is different in the other 9th-century martyrologies.

Ado gives a brief notice on the date of Matthew's *natale* (*Natale sancti Matthaei apostoli et evangelista*).[54] This note is supplemented with some more information in *Libellus* 8, which is exactly the same as Florus's entry on Matthew:[55]

> 21 September. The apostle Matthew. The *natale* of the blessed apostle and evangelist Matthew, who was the first to write down the gospel of Christ in Judea in the Hebrew language. After that he suffered martyrdom when he preached the gospel to the Ethiopians. The gospel, written by his pen, was found in the time of emperor Zeno on a revelation of Matthew himself. This same Matthew is called Levi in the gospel.[56]

---

[52] B. De Gaiffier, 'La commémoraison de S. Matthieu au 6 Mai dans le Martyrologe Hiéronymien', in *Analecta Bollandiana* 80 (1962), 111–115, at 111.

[53] Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*: *XI Kal. Oct. Natale sancti Mathei euuangelistae in Aethiopia, qui cum ibi praedicaret uerbum Dei et multos ad fidem Christi conuerteret, nouissime spiculator missus ab Hirtago rege, qui eum gladio feriebat efficiens, martyrem Christi*. McCulloh (ed.), *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium*, p. 96.

[54] Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 321.

[55] *Martyrology of Florus*, Dubois and Renaud (eds.), *Édition pratique des martyrologes*, p. 175.

[56] Ado, *Martyrologium*: *XI Kal. Octobris. Matthaeus apostolus. Natale beati Matthaei apostoli et evangelistae, qui primus in Iudaea Evangelium Christi Hebraeo sermone conscripsit; postea vero apud Aethiopiam praedicans, martyrium passus est. Evangelium, eius stilo scriptum, ipso revelante, tempore Zenonis imperatoris inventum est. Idem autem Matthaeus in Evangelio Levi appellatur*. Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 8.

Ado and Florus are both more specific regarding the tradition of the *inventio* of Matthew's gospel in the 5th century during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Zeno (†491).[57] This tradition is mentioned by the Greek historiographer Theodor the Lector, who fulfilled the office of lector in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[58] He collected the histories of his illustrious predecessors Sokrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret into a *Historia tripartita*, which was finished around 530, but also wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* of his own.[59] In the latter book, Theodor mentions the finding of the gospel of Matthew on Barnabas's breast:

> The relics of the apostle Barnabas were found in Cyprus under a carob-tree, and on his breast there was the gospel of Matthew, written by Barnabas's own hand.[60]

The text of Theodoret is necessary to understand the passage in Ado's *libellus*, for only from the Greek text it is clear that Barnabas was the one who copied Matthew's gospel. The question remains how this passage in Ado's *libellus* and Florus's martyrology was understood by contemporary users of the document, as no mention is made of Barnabas at all.

The *Martyrology of Usuard* does not make the matter much clearer, in the following section on Matthew:

> 21 September. The *natale* of the blessed apostle and evangelist Matthew, who suffered martyrdom when he preached the gospel to the Ethiopians. And his gospel, written in the Hebrew language, was found in the time of emperor Zeno on a revelation of Matthew himself.[61]

---

[57] Spadafora, in his article on Matthew in the *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, dates this emperor in the first century, but I assume this is a mistake. Spadafora, 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo', col. 125. On the relation between Ado and Florus with respect to Matthew, see Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 8; cfr De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie salernitaine', p. 86.

[58] Spadafora, 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo', col. 125.

[59] Döpp and Geerling (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, p. 677.

[60] Theodor Lector, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II.2: Βαρνάβα τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸ λείψανον εὐρέθη ἐν Κύπρῳ ὑπὸ δένδρον κερατέαν, ἔχων ἐπι στήθους τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίον Εὐαγγέλιον, ἰδιόγραφον τοῦ Βαρνάβα. PG 86, col. 184 (Spadafora gives *PL* 86). Latin translation, on which my English translation depends: *Barnabae apostoli reliquiae in Cypro sub arbore siliqua repertae sunt; super cujus pectore erat Evangelium Matthaei, ipsius Barnabae manu descriptum.*

[61] *XI KL. Oct. Natalis beati Mathei apostoli et evangelistae, qui apud Aethiopiam praedicans martyrium passus est. Huius evangelium hebreo sermone conscriptum, ipso revelante, tempore Zenonis imperatoris inventum est.* Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Usuard*, p. 306.

This entry, an abbreviated version of the one in Ado's martyrology, does mention the fact that Matthew's gospel was written in the Hebrew language, which accords with the Latin *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, but it does not refer to Barnabas and his role in the finding of Matthew's gospel.

In sum, the lists of apostles and martyrological sources give an interesting and diverse picture. The oldest sources, the early medieval apostle lists, follow the tradition of the Greek *Martyrium* in identifying Persia as Matthew's mission area. The medieval martyrologies, in contrast, follow the Ethiopian tradition on Matthew, parallel to the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Most of them, apart from Hrabanus, include the story of the *inventio* of Matthew's gospel during the reign of emperor Zeno. In the following it will become clear that it is the tradition of the Latin *Passion of Matthew* that found its way into the liturgical texts.

4. *The liturgy of mass*

A mass in commemoration of the apostle Matthew appears in some of the earliest sacramentaries of the Latin church outside Rome. The earliest mass is found in the so-called *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*, a representative of the oldest generation of Gallican liturgical books. The Gallican books of the later 8th and 9th centuries provide a mass for Matthew as well. In Spain, the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* contains a mass in commemoration of the apostle. Finally, representatives of the eucharistic liturgy of Italy outside Rome, as well as of the liturgy of early medieval England, are considered.

4.1. *Gaul*

The *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*

By far the oldest evidence of a mass in honour of the apostle Matthew is the set of prayers for the eucharist found in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*.[62] This 7th-century manuscript, of mixed Irish-continental origin, is

[62] H.C.A. Dold and L. Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar im CLM 14429 der Staatsbibliothek München* (Beuron, 1964), pp. 145–150. The edition by Dold and Eizenhöfer is preceded by an elaborate introduction. See on this book also Y. Hen, 'Rome, Anglo-Saxon England, and the formation of the Frankish liturgy', in *Revue*

a difficult source to deal with because of its palimpsest nature.[63] The mass for Matthew consists solely of prayers not found in other sacramentaries of the Gallican rite.[64] In other words, there are no sources that could be helpful to decipher and interpret the texts, of which great parts are illegible. Together with the 8th-century *Evangeliarium* belonging to the Cathedral of Trier, the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* is the only early Gallican source in which a commemoration for Matthew is found.[65]

The mass in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* (hereafter IPS) contains six prayers. The collect following the prayer *post nomina*[66] and the *immolatio*[67] are the most legible texts; the other texts are severely damaged by the overwriting of the manuscript. The first prayer of the mass (IPS 121), the title of which is lacking, is most likely the so-called *praefatio missae*, the opening of the eucharistic prayer of the Gallican mass, in which an explanation is given of the feast or saint that is celebrated and in which the faithful are invited to pray and give praise. It is, in short, rather an exhortation to prayer than a prayer as such and should not be confused with the *praefatio* of the Roman mass.[68] The *praefatio missae* is followed by a nameless collect (IPS 122), in which the actual prayer is formulated. The third prayer is the *collectio post nomina* (IPS 123), recited

---

Bénédictine 112 (2002), 301–322, esp. pp. 311–316, with additional bibliography in footnote 53 on p. 312.

[63] The original text of the sacramentary was replaced by a *Liber glossarum* dated to the second half of the 9th century. Dold and Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, introduction pp. 16–22.

[64] Dold and Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, introduction p. 84.

[65] Ibid., p. 145. On the *Trier Evangeliarium* see D. De Bruyne, 'Les notes liturgiques du manuscrit 134 de la cathédrale de Trèves', in *Revue Bénédictine* 33 (1921), 46–52; on Matthew in this manuscript see p. 51. Yitzhak Hen points to the fact that Matthew is frequently mentioned in liturgical sources of the Anglo-Saxon world. Hen, 'Rome, Anglo-Saxon England, and the Frankish liturgy', p. 315; but Matthew is not mentioned in Thacker, 'In search of saints'.

[66] The names of the members of the community, both living and dead, are recited during the eucharistic rite of the Gallican liturgy. This recitation is followed by a *Collectio post nomina*: a prayer said after the recitation of the names. The collect that follows in the mass for Matthew in the IPS does not have a separate name.

[67] The *immolatio* or *contestatio* is the main part in the eucharistic prayer of the Gallican rite. It is different for each feast-day or Sunday, and is recited after the dialogue between celebrant and community (*Sursum corda* etc.), and before the sung Sanctus. In the Roman liturgy, this part of the eucharistic prayer is indicated with the word *Praefatio* (Preface).

[68] Cfr the preceding footnote.

after the names of the community of faithful (living and departed) are mentioned. Of this text only the title and a few scattered letters can be deciphered. Then follows another collect (IPS 124) and the *immolatio* (IPS 125) as the core of the eucharistic prayer, preceding the sung *Sanctus*. The final prayer of the set is also called just *collectio* (IPS 126). In the following all prayers are discussed, but translations are given only of the more or less fully legible texts: the collect following the prayer *post nomina* and the *immolatio* (IPS 124 and 125).

With regard to the function of the first prayer (IPS 121), it is difficult to state with certainty whether this text is really a *praefatio missae*, written in an adhortatory style and directed to the faithful, or an actual prayer directed to God. The first three or four lines of the text are not legible. However, the sixth line of the version in Dold's edition (*pietatis suae dispositione*) must refer to God whose economy of love is implored.[69] This seems to indicate that the text is indeed an exhortation to prayer, in which God is referred to in the third person singular, not in the vocative or second person. As far as content is concerned, we can discern a certain interest in the incarnation (*uissitare cum hominibus*), perhaps connected to the deliverance from human pride (*fastidium omnium*) as the root of all evil. What is comprehensible is the fact that the eucharistic offering (*obsecratione*) is made in the hope that the gathered faithful may experience the same transformation as Matthew did, the former tax collector who became an apostle and evangelist through God's plan of salvation (*dispositione*). Similarly the faithful hope to be transformed from sinners to just (*obsecratione poscamus ut Matthaeum apostolum et aeuangelistam ex publicano … det pietatis suae dispositione effici nos de peccatoribus iustos*). It is also evident that Matthew is presented as a martyr (*ad martiris gloriam*). A prayer for the liberation from sin concludes this text.

The collect following the *praefatio missae* is full of lacunae (IPS 122). The prayer, addressing Christ, seems to concentrate on the doctrine of salvation (*salutiferae doctrinae tuae*) and thereby on Matthew's work as an apostle and evangelist. The word *conuersionis* can be deciphered as well; this could refer to Matthew's calling out of the publican's house into the circle of Christ's disciples.

The next prayer, following the recitation of the names of the faithful (IPS 123), does not give enough clues to determine its content.

---

69 Dold and Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, p. 146.

In the *collectio nunc* (IPS 124), following the prayer *post nomina*, Matthew is commemorated as a martyr, or, more precisely, as one of the martyrs:

> In remembrance of your martyrs, o
> Lord, through whose diverse triumphs of their
> [. . .] passions the entire church
> throughout all the world is adorned, we ask
> through them for the assistance of your indefatigable
> and immense sanctification,
> namely that the [. . .] which was granted to the
> crown of their merits [. . .]
> is given to us as indulgence for our sins
> because they serve as our patrons.
> Have mercy on us, who reigns . . .[70]

The martyrs are remembered as a group (*reminiscentes martirum tuorum*), and Matthew is one of them; he is not singled out as a special martyr. Clearly this is a text that could be used in a general mass in commemoration of martyrs. This corresponds to the fact that various texts written originally for Matthew's mass or office were later put into use in general services for martyrs.[71]

The *immolatio* (IPS 125) does not pay any attention to Matthew as a martyr or to his acts preceding his martyrdom. It simply presents the first evangelist as one of the authors of the gospel:

> It is worthy and just, fair and
> [just is it] that we,
> God almighty father,
> with the pledge of our praise pay back your gifts

---

[70] *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* 124 (Dold and Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das irische Palimpsest-sakramentar*, p. 148):

> *collectio nunc*
> *Reminiscentes martirum tuo*
> *rum domine · quorum diuersis*
> *passionum triumphis uniuer*
> *sa per orbem terrarum decor*
> *atur aeclesia · indeffessam per*
> *eosdem de inmensa sanctificatione*
> *tua poscimus opem · ut quod eis ad*
> *meritorum cumulum a p*
> *nobis ad indulgentiam criminum*
> *ipsis patrocinantibus tribuatur ·*
> *misserere nobis · qui regnat ·*

[71] Van Doren, 'Mattheüs', in LWb II, col. 1679.

and give you thanks. For you have destined
your only begotten son
to be the eminent ransom
of redemption. But you had him,
who was sent to the earthly sphere, always with you in
heaven as of the same being and co-eternal with you. And by his coming
in the flesh we have been illuminated as well as healed. And his
four gospels illuminated the
four quarters [. . .] of the earth, of which Matthew the
evangelist and apostle
edited the first volume [. . . one] of the Saviour,
writing it with his reed-pen, who
[was called as] Levi out of the publican's house in the [office]
of an apostle; [. . .] from the taxbooth
[. . .] as a publican [. . .]
[name] so that he was truly just [. . .]
and was not ashamed of proclaiming in [. . .]
of his words the beginnings [. . .][72]
But the Lord had not come to call those who claimed
justice for themselves, but sinners [who proclaimed]
a true repentance.[73] This [person]
he receives, because [. . .]
[. . .] [. . .] [H]e counted the generation
of our Lord in the flesh from David
and Abraham [. . .]
[. . .]
[. . .] [T]he sacrifice [we] offer on behalf of [. . .]
through the [. . .] of your son on this day
[. . .] and we pray [. . .]
that after [. . .]
his intercession [. . .] may always [obtain]
eternal [and] almighty God.[74]

---

[72] or: 'the beginning of his (Jesus's) words'.

[73] Cfr Lk. 15:7.

[74] *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* 125 (Dold and Eizenhöfer (ed.), *Das irische Palimpsest-sakramentar*, pp. 148–150):

Dignum et iustum · aequum et
et um est · nos
tibi · deus pater omnipotens · de
uote laudis uota rependere et
gratias agere · qui unigenitum fili
um tuum in redemptionis insigne
praetium distinasti · quem ad ter
rena dimissum tecum semper in
caelestibus conessentialem et con

The text stresses some important notions of Matthew's gospel as such, most conspicuously his account of Jesus's genealogy as a descendant from Abraham and David. Jesus's incarnation on behalf of sinners, not of those who are justified in their own eyes, is emphasized, an idea that is certainly linked to Matthew's own background as a tax collector. In Matthew's gospel, tax collectors and sinners are often mentioned in one breath (e.g. Mt. 9:10; Mt. 11:19). At the same time, this reference to Matthew's past as Levi in the tax-booth is, together with the presentation as one of the four gospel-writers, the only reference to Matthew's 'biography'.

The final prayer in this mass for Matthew in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* (IPS 126) is difficult to decipher; with some effort it is possible to determine that it concentrates on the salvation brought by Christ (*salus in filio*).

---

sempiternum habuisti · cuius in
carnationis aduentu inluminati
pariter et sanati sumus · cuius aeuan
geliorum quadriga quadrifidam
mundi   axem   eg   et inlu
minauit · quorum primum uolumen
unum saluatoris matheus
aeuangelista adque apostolus
calamo edidit scribens · qui
leui ex puplicano in aposto
lum   f   de thelonio
adfatus puplicanum e pra
nomine ut uere iustus s   in
sermonum primordis
non erubuit profiteri · sed dominus
non uenit uocare iustitiam sibi uin
dicantes sed peccatores
ueram penitudinem · hunc
suscipit · quia   nd   s
illius comune   deus
aeuangelistis generatio
nem domini secundum carnem ex dauid
et abraham numerauit
p   effi
giem
pro
per filii tui hodierna
hostias   offer   orantes   quia post
no
bis intercessio   semper
neat aeterna omnipotens deus ·

The damage done to the manuscript when it was written over makes it impossible to reconstruct a coherent set of texts. From the legible prayers, however, it is clear that the focus in this mass is on aspects of Matthew derived from the canonical gospels. In the *immolatio* Matthew is presented as one of the four evangelists, called as Levi out of the tax-booth to the apostolate. Many elements characteristic of the first gospel are accentuated: how the Son, *conessentialem et consempiternum* with the Father came to the earth, was incarnated and called sinners to repentance, not 'those who claim justice for themselves'. Reference is made to Matthew's description of Jesus's generation as descendant of Abraham and David (cfr Mt. 1).

References to Matthew's acts and martyrdom as described in the Latin *Martyrium Matthaei* or to the *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias are rare in the prayers in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*. The mass in commemoration of Matthew deviates from other apostle masses in the same book, where the influence of narrative apocryphal sources is much stronger,[75] but also from the general characteristic of the Gallican liturgy, paying much attention to the hagiographical narrative in the liturgy of saints.[76] Apart from the biographical fact that Matthew was a publican before his calling, derived from the canonical sources, the only fact of life mirrored by the liturgical texts is Matthew's martyrdom, which is emphasized in various prayers of this Gallican mass. However, Matthew is presented as a martyr not in a personal way but, rather, as an important representative of the martyrs as a distinct group in the hierarchy of saints. The fact that liturgical texts for Matthew's feast-day were used later on for other martyrs as well corresponds to this general image. The importance of apostolic martyrdom will return in chapter 6.5.

Supplement to the *Gregorianum Hadrianum*

There is additional evidence that a mass in honour of Matthew was celebrated in early medieval Gaul. The *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*, sent from Rome to Charlemagne's court in 795, gives no mass for the feast of Matthew, but the Frankish Supplement of the 9th cen-

[75] Cfr the mass in commemoration of the apostle Andrew, discussed in Rose, 'Apocryphal traditions in medieval Latin liturgy', esp. pp. 130–132.

[76] See chapter 1, footnote 49.

tury includes a preface, namely the text *qui ecclesiam tuam in tuis fidelibus*.[77] This text, which does not elaborate on characteristics of Matthew's life or passion, appears as the regular preface in the Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries.

The Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries

Most of the Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries have a mass in commemoration of the apostle and evangelist Matthew. In this study, I take the *Sacramentarium Gellonense*, the oldest manuscript of this tradition, as an example. This sacramentary gives a mass for the 'apostle Matthew' at the eve of the feast-day (20 September) as well as a mass *in natale* for 21 September.

The mass celebrated on 20 September highlights some characteristic features of the saint. These prayers treat Matthew as one of the apostles or evangelists, with a focus on his role as an evangelist (although the title indicates only his apostolate). These prayers do not, remarkably, present Matthew as a martyr.

The prayers of the mass for the feast-day proper portray Matthew as an apostle and evangelist, belonging to the groups of apostles and evangelists in general. There is not a single feature characteristic of Matthew as a person. Moreover, it is again striking that the apostle is not presented as a martyr. In sum, the prayers of the Eighth-century Gelasian tradition pay little to no attention to the *Acts of Matthew* and keep entirely silent about his martyrdom. A different picture is provided by the sources belonging to the liturgy of early medieval Spain.

4.2. *Spain*

The *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*

The mass for Matthew in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* consists of nine extremely long prayers, following the usual order of the Old Spanish mass ordo.[78] Here follows an analysis of this interesting mass.

---

[77] *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*, Suppl. 1671. Deshusses (ed.), *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, p. 551.

[78] *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* 938–946. Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, pp. 342–348.

The first prayer (LMS 938), which is nameless but can be considered as the *praefatio missae* or exhortation to prayer, presents many core themes of Matthew as an apostle and evangelist. The calling of the disciple is stressed in the first place, and the fact that he was transformed from a tax collector into a servant of Christ who preached and wrote down the gospel is seen as a token of Christ's free grace (*gratuita gratia*, a theme that recurs often in these prayers).[79] While the faithful hope and pray for a similar conversion, they praise the apostles and their martyrdom as well as the new law (*nouam legem*) that they were given. At the end of the prayer, Christ's incarnation is remembered (*in carne uisitare dignatus est mundum*).

In the subsequent text (LMS 939), formulating the actual prayer of the faithful, Christ is addressed as the son of God (*Christe filius dei*). The gospel is compared to a fourfold stream, that moistens the places on earth where the apostles preached. Even though Jerome's parallel is not copied explicitly,[80] the four rivers of paradise immediately come to mind, since they are presented by Matthew in his elaborate exposition on the blessed life in the earthly paradise included in the Latin *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias (c. 5): 'Four rivers flow there: the Geon, the Physon, the Tigris, and the Euphrates'.[81] The prayer treats Christ's disciples equally as apostles and martyrs. It presents Matthew as the first of the four evangelists: *scriptorem primum euangelice predicationis*. Here the prayer follows the tradition existing from the 2nd century onwards. The Latin *Passion of Matthew* (c. 15) expresses the same conviction: *qui primus Hebraeo sermone conscripsit Evangelium*. Then Matthew's conversion from his life as a tax collector is referred to again. More specifically, the glorious moment of Christ's participation in Matthew's table is called to mind (Mt. 9:10): Christ 'did not expel Matthew' (*qui apud illum quum non egeres prandis*). Matthew not only wrote down the gospel but also was a great preacher in practice. Here a reference is made implicitly to the acts of Matthew as a preacher of the gospel and his subsequent martyrdom (*qui illum post tanta preconia fecisti martyrem gloriosum*).

---

[79] The term occurs frequently in the work of Augustine, who seems to have coined it.

[80] See chapter 1, where this image in Jerome's commentary on the gospel of Matthew is discussed.

[81] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 5: *Quatuor quoque flumina inde fluunt: unus fluvius dicitur Geon, secundus Physon, tertius Tigris, et quartus Euphrates*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 646. Cfr Alibert, 'Vision du monde', pp. 224–225.

In the prayer *post nomina* after the reciting of the names of the faithful (LMS 940), both references to Matthew as the writer of the gospel and elements taken from the Latin *Passion of Matthew* occur. To begin with the latter: this prayer (following the remembrance of the departed former members of the community) calls to mind Matthew's raising of the dead son of Ethiopia's king. It mentions the boy's name, Eufranor, as such. It also refers to the king's reaction, regarding Matthew as a god, as well as Matthew's prompt reply that he is not a god but a servant of God. It is interesting to see how the Spanish prayer quotes the *Passion of Matthew* almost verbatim:

> LMS 940 … *quique dum deus putaretur, non se esse deum, sed dei seruum ueridica uoce referre non distulit, et ut putantes ad te deum conuerterentur, relicto simulacrorum errore, instanter ac fortiter predicauit…*
>
> *Passio Matthaei*, c. 8: … *apostolus Domini hac voce omnes alloquitur: 'Ego Deus non sum, sed servus Domini mei Jesu Christi, filii Dei omnipotentis, qui me misit ad vos ut relicto errore simulachrorum vestrorum ad verum Deum convertamini. Quod si me, hominem similem vobis, putatis Deum…'*

The phrases *relicto simulacrorum errore* and *ut putantes ad te deum conuerterentur* in the prayer are so similar to the words and phrases used in the *Passion* that the assumption seems to be justified that the composer of this prayer used the apocryphal narrative as a source. The prayer also refers to the consecration of a 'host of virgins' (*qui uirginum cuneos tuo seruitio mancipauit*), but it does not mention the name of Iphigeneia, one of the main protagonists in the *Passion of Matthew*.

As far as the content of Matthew's gospel and preaching is concerned, the prayer mentions Christ's incarnation (*Via, ueritas et uita, qui incarnari uoluisti ut redimeres uniuersa*) and the redemption of human sin (*redime nos a chirographo delictorum*—cfr Col. 2:13–14). Further on, the prayer makes reference to the elevation of the apostles to the thrones in heaven, to judge the 12 tribes: … *quem inter omnes cum propriis condiscipulis duodecim tribuum constituere dignatus es iudicem*. This passage of Mt. 19:28 (*Iesus autem dixit illis amen dico vobis quod vos qui secuti estis me in regeneratione cum sederit Filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim iudicantes duodecim tribus Israhel*) is an important theme that occurs in many liturgical texts on the apostles.[82]

The prayer accompanying the kiss of peace (LMS 941) is a general text praying for the sincerity of the greeting that is exchanged before

---

[82] See, for example, the prayer *post sanctus* for the mass of Bartholomew in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, 844.

communion in order to bring about reconciliation and peace. A reference to the apostles and to Matthew in particular is made where Jesus's promise of the sending of the Holy Spirit is referred to (John 14:27). This is, however, a common feature in the prayers accompanying the kiss of peace,[83] and only the mentioning of Matthew's name marks this prayer's use for this specific day.

The *illatio*—the Spanish equivalent of the Gallican *immolatio*—of Matthew's mass in the *Liber Mozarabicus* (LMS 942) first elaborates on Christ's divinity and humanity. Whereas the latter theme is generally stressed when the canonical gospel of Matthew is referred to,[84] the former theme reveals a strong commitment to a careful description of Christ's divine being. Whereas the incarnation is a central theme in Matthew's gospel, the divine nature of Christ is stressed in many prayers of the early medieval Gallican and Spanish rites.[85] Whether this special concern to highlight Christ's equality to God the Father was due to a grim fight against the Arian heresy still in the 7th and 8th centuries, as Joseph Jungmann stated,[86] or rather a literary or rhetorical instrument in the definition of orthodoxy without a concrete and local Arian opposition at the time, as Yitzhak Hen defends,[87] it remains an important characteristic of the early medieval rites of Gaul and Spain which has hitherto received too little attention.[88] A certain preoccupation with Christ's divine nature, whatever the underlying doctrinal discussion, might also explain the huge emphasis in the prayer on Christ's being with the Father 'before the origin of light without beginning' (*ante luciferum sine initio*), his remaining with the Father also after the

[83] See, for example, the prayers *ad pacem* in *Missale Gothicum* 120, 208, and 325.

[84] See K. Madigan, *Olivi and the interpretation of Matthew in the high Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN, 2003), pp. 15–17.

[85] In the prayer texts of the Old Spanish as well as the Gallican liturgy, Christ is regularly addressed as God (*Christe Deus*), sometimes as Creator. Some examples taken from the *Missale Gothicum*: *Christe, omnipotens Deus* (118, Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 398); *Domine Christe Iesu, deus pie* (220, p. 435); the trinity as a whole is addressed as the one creator: *Deum omnipotentem, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, uniuersitatis unum creatorem* (219, p. 434).

[86] J.A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet* (Münster im Westfalen, 1925 = Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 7 / 8) analyses a.o. the addressing of Christ the Son rather than God the Father in many prayers.

[87] With many thanks to Yitzhak Hen, who confided his ideas on the matter to me in correspondence (e-mail dated 28 May 2008).

[88] Fortunately, Yitzhak Hen is now preparing a monograph on Arianism in the early medieval West, with special attention for the liturgical evidence. Y. Hen, *Western Arianism: politics and religious culture in the early medieval West* (forthcoming).

incarnation and during his dwelling on earth (*qui cum ad terras descenderet abs te numquam recessit, sed in una diuinitatis potentia tecum inseparabiliter mansit, manet et sine fine permanebit*). Christ was present at the creation of humankind (*Nos tecum et cum spiritu sancto qui non eramus creauit*) and has come to call us to his side out of free grace (*gratia gratuita*). Here are parallels, as far as content is concerned, with the *immolatio* in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*, which likewise dwells rather elaborately on Christ's equal divinity to the Father and other doctrinal questions on Christ's nature.

Christ's incarnation is presented as a fulfilment of the prophets (*In qua* [*sc. carne*] *ipse etiam, ut uatum impleret oracula, tibi factus est uictima*). Here, Matthew is presented, as he traditionally is, as the 'Jewish evangelist', writing for Jews and situating Christ's incarnation and dwelling on earth in the context of the Old Testament writings.[89]

The calling of the apostles, chosen among the uneducated (*idiotis*) to build the church, was established before the foundation of the world (*ante mundi constitutionem elegit*).[90] To these simple and weak people, fishers and tax collectors, he gave 'the will to shed a flood of blood for their brothers' (*dedit uelle pro fratribus undam fundere sanguinis*). Again the stress is on the free grace (*gratuita gratia*) that motivated Jesus to call his disciples:

> Among these it is your holy apostle and evangelist Matthew of whom we celebrate today the remembrance of his passion, who is made a writer of the gospel, chosen from his works as a publican and later honoured with the crown of martyrdom.[91]

Indeed the passion of the apostle and evangelist is remembered in the following part of the *illatio*,[92] which pays ample attention to elements

[89] Cfr Spadafora, 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo', col. 119.

[90] This might be a contraction of John 17:24: *Pater quos dedisti mihi volo ut ubi ego sum et illi sint mecum ut videant claritatem meam quam dedisti mihi quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi.*

[91] LMS, 942: *Ex quibus est iste Matheus apostolus tuus sanctus et euangelista, cuius passionis hodie celebratur memoria, qui ex publicanis electus operibus scriptor factus est euangelii, et post laureatus corona martyrii.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 345.

[92] LMS, 942: *Exemplo magistri sui uel domini pro ueritate sanguinem fudit, quia ueritatem a ueritatis ore amabiliter didicit. Suscitandi mortuos accipit potestatem, et ut inualidus inlatam suscipit mortem. Qui posse habet curare infirmos, se persequentium patienter sustinet ictus. A mundi constitutione in predicatorem electus et suscitandi mortuos officio functus, inimicorum iugulatur in ecclesia gladiis. Perenniter uiuit in celo, et moritur gladii temporaliter ictu. Qui aliis dat accepta potestate salutem, aduersarium se sustinet ferientem. Qui habetur in faciendis uirtutibus fortis, uoluntarie efficitur et patienter infirmus. In miraculis deus putatur, et pro deo morte percutitur. Gloriosus habetur in doctrinis, et odio dignus Irtaci regis consiliis. Inlata ab aduersariis feritur morte, qui ad iudicandum alios sedebit in sede. Ante altare percutitur gladio, qui super altare fungitur sacerdotali officio. Demonum potestati*

taken from the *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. First of all, Matthew is presented as a follower of Christ, in shedding his blood for the truth (*Exemplo magistri sui uel domini pro ueritate sanguinem fudit*). After this statement that Matthew died a martyr's death, further details of his acts and *Passion* are presented. According to the liturgical prayer, Matthew had the power to raise the dead (*Suscitandi mortuos accipit potestatem*...) and heal the sick (*Qui posse habet curare infirmos*...). Matthew's healing ability is expressed in the parts of the *Passio* where the sorcerers are at stake, submitting the people to their imposed illnesses (c. 1). His power over the dead is illustrated most importantly by the episode where he calls the king's son Eufranor back to life (c. 7), as is discussed above. The text of the *illatio* presents these healing and life-giving abilities as a means through which the apostle sacrificed himself for others, as they are repeatedly contrasted with the fact that the apostle was slain by the 'persecutors' (*persequentium*), the 'enemies' (*inimicorum*), and the 'adversary' (*aduersarium*). The enemy has a name in the prayer: Hirtacus the king is mentioned explicitly. The weapon with which Matthew was killed, the sword, is also mentioned several times. Whereas the Greek *Martyrium* tells various complicated and fruitless endeavours of the king of the cannibals to kill Matthew by fire, the Latin *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias recounts a quick death with one blow of the sword:

> And not long after he had raised his hands in prayer, a spy sent by Hirtacus made the apostle to a martyr of Christ, striking him at his back with the blow of one sword (with one blow of the sword).[93]

Matthew received this deathblow, according to the *Passion*, while he was praying at the altar in the church, after the celebration of the eucharist, a fact that is repeatedly referred to in the *illatio*, most notably in the following sentence:

> Before the altar he was killed with the sword, who accomplished his priestly duty on the altar.[94]

---

resistit, et demonibus famulantium ictibus interiit. Draconibus imperat, et se ferientis ire subcumbit. Qui curandi egros utitur priuilegio, morte feritur pro magistro. Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, pp. 345–346.

[93] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 14: *Itaque non multo post expansis manibus orantem, spiculator missus ab Hyrtaco, a tergo punctim, unius gladii ictu feriens apostolum martyrem Christi effecit.* Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 664.

[94] LMS, 942: *Ante altare percutitur gladio, qui super altare fungitur sacerdotali officio.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 346.

This phrasing places the apostle Matthew in the tradition of other martyrs who were also priests or bishops: the event of their martyrdom as an offering to Christ is in harmony with their role of accomplishing the eucharistic offering. An example is found in liturgical texts for the Gallican mass of the martyr Saturninus of Toulouse, who was killed during the reign of Decius and Gratus (250) and whose martyrdom is compared with his service at the eucharistic altar:

> [...] For to become similar to Christ, the most blessed Saturninus, in bringing his offering, himself became an offering.[95]

As this prayer for Saturninus makes clear, the analogy, of course, goes back to Christ, who as the fulfilment of prophetic priesthood offered himself on the cross.

Finally, other elements based on the *Passio Matthaei*, already discussed above, are expressed in the *illatio*, such as the fact that Matthew 'was thought to be a god through his miracles' as well as his power over demons (*demonum potestati resistit*; cfr *Passion* c. 8 a.o.) and dragons (*Draconibus imperat, et se ferientis ire subcumbit*; cfr most notably *Passion* c. 5).

The exposition of Matthew's martyrdom is followed by a eulogy of grace. It was grace that, among many other things, incited Matthew to write down the gospel in the Hebrew language (*Hac* [sc. gratia] *inspirante, euangelium scripsit hebraicis litteris*). Here the *illatio* refers to the concluding words of the *Passion of Matthew*:

> And great wonders happened there to the confession of the blessed apostle, who was the first to write down in the Hebrew language the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns with the Father and the holy Spirit for ever and ever.[96]

Likewise, it was grace that made him die before the altar where he accomplished the eucharistic offer. And it was right that he died before the altar, and not elsewhere:

> Justly, then, justly he was killed by the sword before the altar and not elsewhere, who accomplished his priesthood before the altar for the church in all the world; so that he became himself a sacrifice at the place where he offered the sacrifice for the people; and so that he himself was

[95] *Missale Gothicum*, 124: *Debitas, omnipotens sempiterne deus, referimus gratias Iesu Christo domino nostro, in cuius similitudinem beatissimus Saturninus, dum offerret uictimam ipse fit uictima, dum sacerdotium electus agit martyrium deuotus impleuit.* Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 400.

[96] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 15: *Et fiunt ibi mirabilia magna, ad confessionem beati apostoli, qui primus Hebraeo sermone conscripsit Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat in secula seculorum.* Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 668.

> decorated with the crown of martyrdom at the same place where he prayed to you for the forgiveness of the sin of the people.[97]

Again, and even more explicitly, the comparison between the gift of Matthew's life and the eucharistic sacrifice is made. The *illatio* concludes then with an elaborate prayer for the intercession of such a great saint, apostle, evangelist, and martyr.

After the *illatio*, few new themes appear in the prayers, and many familiar elements taken from the gospel or from the *Passion of Matthew* are repeated. Thus the prayer *post sanctus* (LMS 943) stresses the fact that Matthew is the *first* evangelist, that he wrote down the gospel in the Hebrew language, and it draws the analogy between his martyrdom and the sacrifice of the eucharist. The prayer following the words of institution (*post pridie*—LMS 944)[98] does not so much refer to the *Passion of Matthew* as to Matthew's transformation from a tax collector to a disciple, for it dwells on the mystery that the eucharistic sacrifice is beneficial to both sinners and just people. Finally the *benedictio*, the blessing before communion, does not refer to any particularities from the *Passion of Matthew* but, instead, mentions the election and calling of the disciples, the sending of the holy Spirit, and the miracle of the multiple languages.

The analysis of the prayers for the mass in honour of Matthew's feast-day in the *Liber Mozarabicus* makes clear that the liturgical texts in commemoration of this apostle, evangelist, and martyr cover a wide range of themes, based on the canonical gospels, early Christian doctrine on the incarnation and redemption, and, not in the least, on the Acts of the apostle Matthew, transmitted in Latin in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias as the *Passio Matthaei*. Much more than in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* the prayers for Matthew in the *Liber Mozarabicus* are linked to this Latin *Passio*. They not only mention names as they occur in this text (Eufranor, Hirtacus) but even quote the *Passio* practically verbatim. Sometimes they refer to the *Passio* in a more implicit but not less evident way, as is the case for instance in the reference to the four rivers of paradise (LMS 938) and the general indication of

---

97 LMS, 942: *Merito quippe, merito non alibi, sed ante altare gladio iugulatur, qui pro uniuersa ecclesia ante altare sacerdotio fungitur; ut ubi uictimas offerebat pro populo, illic ipse uictima fieret Christo, et ubi te rogabat pro diluendis sceleribus populi, ibi ipse decoraretur corona martyrii.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 346.

98 Cfr 1 Cor. 11:23–25; Mt. 26:26–28; Mk. 14:22–24; Lk. 22:19–20. Cfr A. Hollaardt, 'Post pridie', in LWb II, cols. 2239–2240.

Matthew as a preacher of the gospel and a martyr (LMS 939). The influence of the *Passion of Matthew* on this mass in the Old Spanish *Liber Mozarabicus* is considerable.

4.3. *Italy*

Like most of the Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries, most of the early medieval Italian sources contain a mass for the celebration of Matthew's *natale*. The 10th-century *Sacramentary of Bergamo* can serve as an example.[99] The mass for Matthew in this sacramentary does not present any new material compared to the previous sections; it makes use of the prayers common in the Gelasian tradition. Combining two prayers from the vigil as it occurs for instance in the Gellonense with three prayers from the mass of the *natale* in the same sacramentary, the Italian mass for Matthew is a regular Gelasian mass portraying few characteristics of the apostle, evangelist, and martyr.

4.4. *England*

The 11th-century *Canterbury Benedictional* contains two blessings for the commemoration of Matthew, one for the feast-day on 21 September and one for the preceding vigil.[100] Both blessings treat the apostle Matthew mainly as one of the evangelists: the first among them to have written down the gospel (*qui … primus oracula scripsit euangelica*) and the person who concentrated mostly on Christ's humanity. These features have become familiar now through the preceding studies. The blessings do not further concentrate on the acts and martyrdom of Matthew.

The survey of prayer-texts for the liturgy of mass on Matthew's feast-day on 21 September indicates the important function the commemoration of Matthew has as a model for the liturgical celebration of other evangelists, apostles, and martyrs. Even the mass in honour of Matthew in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*, a representative of the early Gallican liturgy where the biographical detail is normally dominant in the liturgy of saints, pictures Matthew as a model martyr instead of a saint with his own characteristics. The apocryphal Acts of this apostle,

[99] *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, 1120–1125. Paredi (ed.), *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, pp. 285–286.
[100] Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 110.

written down in Latin in the *Passion of Matthew*, are of minor importance in the eucharistic sources of early medieval Gaul, as is shown in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* and in the Eighth-century Gelasian books, and in the sources found in England and Italy. The situation is entirely different in Spain, where the apocryphal traditions have influenced the liturgical texts deeply. The mass for Matthew in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* confirms the general impression of the Spanish liturgical tradition, that pictures the life and martyrdom of the saints vividly in its prayers. In the following section, it will become clear that the apocryphal *Acts of Matthew* are not predominant in the liturgy of the hours.

5. *The liturgy of the hours*

As was indicated above, the liturgical texts for the apostle and evangelist Matthew were frequently used for the liturgical commemoration of other saints, either evangelists or martyrs, or even in general masses in commemoration of martyrs. This is true not only for the liturgy of mass but certainly for the liturgy of the hours. In the 12 oldest manuscripts containing the cathedral and monastic offices for the entire liturgical year, only one manuscript, the 12th-century *Antiphonal* in use in the monastery of St-Maur-les-Fossés, gives a set of hours for the *natale* of Matthew.[101] The title itself, *natale sancti Mathei evangeliste et aliorum evangelistarum*, indicates already that the material for this office is concentrating not on Matthew and his acts and martyrdom but, rather, on his role as an evangelist and as a representative of the group of evangelists. The material presented below consists of antiphons, responsories, and verses as they were used in the first Vespers (*vesperae primae*, the vespers celebrated at the eve of the feast-day), in the three nocturns (*nocturnae* and *cantica*) of the night office, and in the morning service (*in matutinis laudibus*) of the feast-day itself. In the following, the main themes of the office hours will be presented with the help of some central chant-texts.

[101] The *Antiphonarium Fossatense* is a composite manuscript. The part that contains the office for Matthew dates to the 12th century. Paris, BnF lat. 12584, f° 216v–373. See Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, pp. xv–xvi. For an overview of the chants of this office, see Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, pp. 563–565.

5.1. *The vision of the four living creatures: Ezechiel and John's Apocalypse*

The most important theme of the liturgy of the hours for Matthew's feast-day is without doubt the biblical vision of the four living creatures before the throne in heaven, described both in the book of the Old Testament prophet Ezechiel (ch. 1) and the New Testament Book of Revelation or Apocalypse of John (ch. 4).[102] This theme is found already in the first chant of the liturgy of the hours for Matthew's feast-day, the antiphon accompanying the *Magnificat* in the first Vespers:

> Behold I, John, saw an open door in heaven. And behold a throne in heaven, and in the centre and around the throne were four living creatures, covered with eyes in front and behind. And they gave glory and honour and blessing to him who sits on the throne, who lives for ever and ever.[103]

The antiphon, a compilation of various verses in Apoc. 4 (1, 2, 6, 9), presents John's vision of the four living creatures around Christ's throne. One of the living creatures has the appearance of a lion, one that of an ox, one that of a man, and one that of an eagle (vs. 7). The apocalypse of John is comparable to the vision of Ezechiel (Ez. 1). Already in the early centuries of Christianity, the four living creatures as they occur in the prophecies of Ezechiel and in the visions of John are interpreted as symbols of the four evangelists, gathering around the throne which is interpreted as Christ's throne. This tradition is found first in the works of Irenaeus[104] and Origen.[105] Origen's commentaries

---

[102] P.-M. Bogaert, 'Les Quatre Vivants, l'Évangile et les évangiles', in *Revue théologique de Louvain* 32 (2001), 457–478; K. Stevenson, 'Animal rites: the four Living Creatures in patristic exegesis and liturgy', in M.F. Wiles and E.J. Yarnold (eds.), *Studia patristica* 34 (Louvain, 2001), 470–492; P. Paciorek, 'Les diverses interprétations patristiques des Quatre Vivants d'Ézéchiel 1, 10 et de l'Apocalypse 4, 6–7 jusqu'au XIIe siècle', in *Augustiniana* 51 (2001), 151–218. Stevenson concentrates on the use in liturgy and (baptismal) catechesis of the biblical passages on the four living creatures and their relation with the evangelists (esp. pp. 482–486), without referring to any office texts of Matthew's (or another apostle's) feast-day.

[103] *Ecce ego Joannes vidi ostium apertum in coelo; et ecce sedes posita erat in eo, et in medio sedis et in circuitu ejus quatuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro, et dabant gloriam et honorem et benedictionem sedenti super thronum, viventi in saecula saeculorum.* Hesbert, CAO, vol. 3, p. 186.

[104] Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* III and IV. Cfr Bogaert, 'Les Quatre Vivants', pp. 464–465; Stevenson, 'Animal rites', pp. 474–476. Bogaert discusses additionally a commentary on Apocalypse, whose author might be 'a certain' Hippolyte ('Les Quatre Vivants', pp. 465–466).

[105] Origenes, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*. M. Borret (ed.), *Homélies sur Ézéchiel* (Paris, 1989 = SChr 352). See also Stevenson, 'Animal rites', p. 475. Bogaert does not mention Origen.

on Ezechiel were followed by several Greek fathers, and in the West by Jerome's own commentary in 14 books and the homilies on Ezechiel by Gregory the Great.[106] Gregory summarized Christ's life in the four symbolic creatures: 'He is everything at once for us, for by being born he has become a man, by dying an ox, by rising from the dead a lion, and by ascending to heaven an eagle'.[107]

Not all *patres* agreed on the precise division of the living creatures. Thus Augustine attached the human symbol to Mark, while Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great attach it to Matthew.[108] The tradition which assigned the human symbol to Matthew prevailed because of the latter's extensive presentation of Christ's human descent as son of Abraham and David (Mt. 1:1–17).[109] The comments on Ezechiel by Jerome and Gregory the Great were the most influential sources for medieval biblical exegetes.[110] Various commentaries on Ezechiel are transmitted to us from the Carolingian period, of which Hrabanus's commentary is the most influential.[111] It goes back to a great extent to Gregory the Great and Jerome.[112]

In the office liturgy for Matthew, the vision of the four living creatures is particularly dominant in the night office. The responsories after the readings in the three nocturns or vigils form a long series of reflections on the first chapter of Ezechiel, in which almost all verses of Ezechiel 1 are included.[113] Thus, the monks were reflecting on the vision of the four living creatures all through the night preceding Matthew's *natale* by chanting these responsories. The representation of the four

---

[106] Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem*, Glorie (ed.), *Hieronymi commentariorum in Hiezechielem*; Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, M. Adriaen (ed.), *Sancti Gregorii Magni Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam* (Turnhout, 1971 = CCSL 142).

[107] Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem* I.4.1: *Totum ergo simul nobis est, qui et nascendo homo, et moriendo uitulus, et resurgendo leo, et ad caelos ascendendo aquila factus est.* Adriaen (ed.), *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem* (CCSL 142), p. 47.

[108] W. Neuß, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Gemälde in der Kirche zu Schwarzrheindorf; ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Typologie der christlichen Kunst, vornehmlich in den Benediktinerklöstern* (Münster in Westf., 1912), p. 88. For a more specific overview of the different possible combinations of living creature and evangelist in early Christian literature see Bogaert, 'Les Quatre Vivants', pp. 459–461.

[109] Bogaert, 'Les Quatre Vivants', p. 463; Stevenson, 'Animal rites', pp. 475–480, 483.

[110] Neuß, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, p. 107.

[111] H. Butzmann, 'Der Ezechiel-Kommentar des Hrabanus Maurus und seine älteste Handschrift', in *Kleine Schriften. Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag* (Graz, 1973), pp. 104–119.

[112] Neuß, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, p. 109.

[113] Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, pp. 563, 565.

living creatures in John's Apocalypse returns only once (apart from the antiphon accompanying the *Magnificat* of the first Vespers), namely in the morning office or *Laudes*. In this service, which is in its general composition very similar to the Vespers, the gospel of the day is read and is accompanied by the antiphon *In medio et in circuitu*. This chant text is a compilation of Apoc. 4:6 and 8:

> In the centre and around the throne of God are four living creatures. They have six wings and are covered with eyes everywhere, and they do not stop singing night and day: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God almighty, who was and is and is to come.[114]

The use of and meditation on the vision of the four living creatures which dominates the night office of 21 September underlines that Matthew is, in this office, presented as an evangelist, even as a representative of the group of evangelists, rather than as an individual apostle with a proper mission and martyrdom. The vision of the throne with the four living creatures of Ezechiel and John occurs not only in the liturgy of the hours for the *natale* of the individual evangelists but also in a common office for the group of evangelists.[115]

5.2. *The mission of the apostles and evangelists*

A second important theme in the office liturgy for Matthew's feast-day is the mission of Christ's apostles to go out into the world and their role as preachers of the gospel. The aspect of preaching is accentuated more than the apostles' power to heal the sick and raise the dead. Chants dealing with the mission theme rely mostly on the canonical gospels, for instance Lk. 9 and 10. In the same vein, much attention is paid to the sending of the holy Spirit to dwell in the apostles. This notion is expressed by references to the New Testament account of Pentecost, but also by the use of Old Testament considerations of the 'Spirit of wisdom and understanding' (*Spiritu sapientiae et intellectus*) as found in the books of Isaiah (11:2) and Jesus Sirach (15:5).[116] Non-scriptural texts are used as well. Some chants are compositions based

---

[114] *In medio et in circuitu sedis Dei quatuor animalia, senas alas habentia oculis undique plena, non cessant nocte ac die dicere: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est.* Hesbert, CAO, vol. 3, p. 275.

[115] Hesbert, CAO, vol. 3, p. 186.

[116] As in one of the antiphons for *Laudes*: *Implevit eos Dominus spiritu sapientiae et intellectus*; Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2, p. 565.

on other liturgical texts; sometimes images and expressions of patristic and medieval writers are used. But no reference is made to narrative sources on Matthew's life, mission, and passion, such as the *Passion of Matthew* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Whereas the office texts for the feast of Philip and James included fragments of the gospel that concentrate on the apostle Philip and his conversations with Jesus, the office for the feast of Matthew betrays no interest in the story of the apostle as such. There is no reference to the gospel passages about his calling, about his life as a tax collector, or about his life with Jesus. Likewise, the acts and passion of this apostle are completely absent from the office. Even more than the office in commemoration of the apostles Philip and James, the office for the evangelist Matthew shows the apostle as a representative of a group rather than as an individual saint. It is striking that all chants given in the *Antiphonal of St-Maur-les-Fossés* are used in offices for other evangelists, mostly Mark, and sometimes also in common offices for evangelists or apostles. The case of Matthew seems to parallel the development of the Roman cult of Barnabas, Mark, and Luke as described by Jounel: 'Le culte romain des trois saints découle de leur importance dans le Nouveau Testament et non d'une implantation locale antécédente'.[117] This might also apply to Matthew: the cult expressed in the *Antiphonal of St-Maur-les-Fossés* is not a local cult, concentrating on the particularities of this saint's life and passion, but gives evidence of the importance of Matthew as one of the contributors to the canonical Bible, which makes him a crucial figure in the liturgy. Quite a contrary picture emerges from the analysis of hymn material in honour of this apostle.

6. *Hymns*

6.1. *Hymns from Italy: Salerno*

The archiepiscopal see of Salerno in South Italy, where Matthew's relics found their definite resting place after a journey from Ethiopia, via Brittany and Paestum, was held by Alfanus between 1058 and 1085. This remarkable figure in the history of Italy was an all-round scholar, gifted with poetical, musical as well as medical skills.[118] Around

[117] Jounel, 'Le culte des apôtres à Rome', p. 179.
[118] M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911–1931;

1050, Alfanus worked in Salerno as *magister*, but in the same period he travelled to Benevento and Florence, as well as to Montecassino, where he visited his friend Abbot Desiderius. Alfanus was involved in the circles of the reform movement at least since the pontificate of Victor II (1055–1057) and remained in contact with the reform popes also after he had become archbishop of Salerno. The influential Gregory VII was not only Alfanus's 'guest' during the pope's exile[119] but even was buried in the new cathedral that Alfanus had built in Salerno.[120] This church, built to house the relics of Matthew, was realized with the support of the Norman ruler Robert Guiscard, who had conquered Salerno in 1076.[121] Guiscard, who had become a vassal of the popes in 1059, was eager to appease the Salernitans with his conquest of the city and, to that purpose, co-operated with archbishop Alfanus as well as with the local secular establishment.[122] In the later part of the 11th century, moreover, the Normans became important allies of the popes, notably in the struggle of the latter with the German empire.[123] The building of the new cathedral of Salerno must be seen against the background of these alliances. The church, a co-production of archbishop and lay ruler, was consecrated by the pope in 1084 and thus became a symbol of the relationship between ecclesiastical and secular rulers.

The consolidation of the new ruler's authority, as well as the reinforcement of the bond between ecclesiastical and lay power, was sealed with the name of the apostle and evangelist Matthew, to whom the new cathedral was dedicated, as the former cathedral had been from the mid-9th century.[124] A prominent inscription just above the main entrance claims Robert as the donor of the new cathedral and prays

---

repr. 1965–1974), vol. 2, pp. 618–637; cfr the slightly apologetic article by R. Avallone, 'Alphanus von Salerno, das Licht Europas im 11. Jahrhundert', *Das Altertum* 15 (1969), 26–34.

119 Delogu, 'Alfanus', col. 389.

120 Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, p. 620.

121 Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 128.

122 Ibid., p. 140.

123 Ibid., p. 186*s*. The relationship between the papacy and Robert Guiscard was not without periods of struggle: during the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073–1085), Guiscard was excommunicated several times. But gradually the situation improved, also because the pope needed a strong ally against the German emperor. Gregory and Guiscard made peace in 1080 (Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 205–209).

124 Cfr footnote 20.

that the reward of eternal life be given to the Norman.[125] Thus Matthew became the prominent patron saint of the endeavour to create new political and ecclesiastical stability. The second half of the 11th century had been very important for the execution of the papal reform programme and the development of new ecclesiastical rule. The latter was stimulated by the personal initiatives of Robert Guiscard and of archbishop Alfanus to reinstall catholic authority in the many bishoprics in the South Italian region that had been led by Byzantine ecclesiastics ever since the 8th century.[126] Lay ruler and bishop together mobilized Matthew as the protector of their city and the authority on which their reform plans relied.

As a poet, Alfanus wrote a large number of hymns: 68 in total are attributed to him, although he himself added his name only to two texts: an acrostichon and an inscription on the new cathedral.[127] Peter the Deacon (1107/1110–after 1159) makes mention of Alfanus's *Liber hymnorum et versuum* in his *History of famous men of Montecassino*, where he describes precisely the saints and festivals for which Alfanus composed his hymns.[128] According to Peter, Alfanus dedicated three hymns to Matthew, but in later manuscripts even more Matthew hymns are found. It is no surprise that most of them are composed for the translation of Matthew's relics. The oldest transmission of Alfanus's hymnal, with musical notation, is in a late 11th-century manuscript of Montecassino (Cod. Casin. 280),[129] the monastery that preserved all Alfanus's poetry.[130] Many of the hymns have local South Italian saints

[125] *A duce Robberto donaris, Apostole, templo; / pro meritis regno donetur et ipse superno*. A. Lentini and F. Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano* (Montecassino, 1974), pp. 38–39 and N. Acocella, *La decorazione pittorica di Montecassino dalle didascalie di Alfano I* (Salerno, 1966), pp. 26–27.

[126] Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 192–193. These efforts, in which the papacy and the lay rulers worked closely together, are described by Loud as a 'long and slow process, not completed until the pontificate of Paschal II in the early 12th century' (p. 193). Elsewhere Loud stresses that there is little evidence for a 'deliberate programme of Latinisation' (p. 229). On the influential role Alfanus played in the reform activities, see G.A. Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 184–185.

[127] Delogu, 'Alfanus', col. 390. See on the liturgical poems of Alfanus A. Lentini, 'Carmi d'interesse liturgico nell'opera di Alfano', in *Studia Anselmiana* 68 (1979), 203–212.

[128] Petrus Diaconus, *Liber illustrium virorum archisterii Casinensis*, c. 19. PL 173, col. 1030. Cfr Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 4.

[129] Delogu, 'Alfanus', 390; Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*. For a description of the manuscript, see ibid., pp. 7–9.

[130] Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, p. 620.

as their topic, but there are also typical Benedictan or Montecassinian subjects.[131] Apart from Matthew, Peter is the only other apostle for whom a hymn is included.

Alfanus's hymnal includes three hymns in praise of Matthew[132] and another three composed for the feast-day of the relic translation.[133] The first hymn in Matthew's honour, *Apostolorum nobili victoria*, is written for Matthew's *natale*, according to the title given in the Montecassino codex 280. The hymn, consisting of eight stanzas, sings the praises of the apostle as one of the collegium of the twelve apostles, adorning Mother church sitting in heaven to judge with Christ the seed of Israel (Mt. 19:28). The power to bind and loose is, according to the second stanza, given to all twelve together:

> This is the senate that will sit as a judge
> with the king of glory on the final day
> to judge all the seed of Israel,
> and its authority knows to close the doors of heaven,
> and likewise to open them with the key of language.[134]

Matthew is praised in particular because he left his occupation as a tax collector to follow Christ. He was the first to write down the account of Christ's incarnation. Matthew is honoured as an evangelist, martyr, and apostle. The sixth stanza refers, briefly and in general terms, to the *Passion of Matthew*:

> He has brought salvation to the people of the neighbouring land,
> vexed and tinged (*tinctas*)[135] from inside with the paint of sins,
> lest they lie in the black darkness of death,
> when he faithfully liberated them from famine
> with miracles and nourishment.[136]

The subsequent stanza links the apostle's salutary works directly to the people in Salerno:

---

131 See the overview in Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, pp. 4–5.

132 Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, pp. 84–89.

133 Ibid., pp. 225–232.

134 *Hic est senatus, rege qui cum gloriae / die supremo praesidebit arbiter / ad iudicandum omne semen Israel, / cuius potestas novit altas claudere / seras, itemque clave linguae pandere.* Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 84. Cfr Mt. 19:28 and Mt. 16:19.

135 The word is also used for baptism; Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *tingo*.

136 *Gentes propinquo solis ustas climate / intusque tinctas criminum fuligine, / ne mortis atra vergerent caligine, / nitere fecit mente, dum fideliter / signis et almo liberavit famine.* Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 85.

Matthew, apostle, receive now worthily
the due thanks of your citizens,
and let them be safe from all sin,
so that they in future trial will feel
that they have submitted themselves firmly to such a patron.[137]

In the hymn, the archbishop prays that the beneficial presence of the apostle and evangelist, as it existed in the region of the Ethiopians, may be likewise present in the circle of his own people in Salerno. The hymn depicts Matthew as a reliable and powerful patron, a heavenly helper in the creation of new stability in earthly relations. The inhabitants of Salerno are provided with a firm identity: under the new ruler and in the search for new political stability, they are portrayed as 'citizens of Matthew'. The patron saint vouches future stability, in the continuation of *presentia* and protection in and through his relics.

The second hymn, *Laetare mater parturis quae filios*, likewise comprising eight stanzas, is also composed for Matthew's feast-day. The first four stanzas, addressed to Mother church, sing the praises of the apostles in general and of this single apostle in particular and pray that both the songs of the church and its teaching may be correct and pleasing. Then the hymn deals with the *Passion of Matthew* in more detail. The magicians who appear in the fifth stanza were, as instruments of demons, the performers of vicious delusions (*Tu prava quondam daemonum ludibria / magis peracta clarius detexeras*).[138] In the sixth stanza, Alfanus continues to follow the *Passion of Matthew* by mentioning the resurrection of king Polymius's son and the apostle's struggle with the king's evil brother Hirtacus:

On the prayer of the king you have raised
his only demised son from a dual death.[139]
After that, while you opposed cruel King Hirtacus,
you ascended to heaven from this place as a martyr, as an apostle.[140]

There the faithful hope to find their patron saint as a hospitable friend who takes care of them (*hospes … sedulus*).

---

[137] *Mathaee, grates debitas, apostole, / digne tuorum civium iam suscipe, / quos fac ab omni esse tutos crimine, / ut se futuro sentiant examine / tali patrono paruisse strenue*. Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 85.

[138] Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 86.

[139] *Sc*. the physical and the spiritual death.

[140] *Utraque lapsum morte regis unicum / oratione suscitasti filium. / Post haec tyrannum dum refutas Hyrtacum, / hinc martyr astra scandis, hinc apostolus*. Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 87.

The third hymn, likewise for Matthew's feast-day, is addressed to the holy Spirit (*Adesto, sancte Spiritu*). It tells how Matthew was called from the tax-booth (*ex publicano protinus*) and then follows the *Passion of Matthew* very closely. In the third stanza, a reference to Matthew's curing the sick is found, primarily those with an afflicted soul:

> He healed those who were sick at heart
> by the burning flame of sins,
> through words
> that were first committed to himself by you.[141]

In the fourth stanza the baptism of the royal family is recounted:

> He washed with holy baptism
> the king with his wife,
> whose son he had powerfully
> brought back to life.[142]

The fifth stanza turns to Matthew's discussion with Hirtacus on marriage, followed by the apostle's martyrium:

> With the right word he disconcerted
> the tyrant's wedding [plans],
> and on behalf of that he, adorned with the crown
> of martyrdom, ascended to heaven as a martyr.[143]

This hymn closes with a prayer for the people's protection by such a firm and powerful patron.

The hymns for the translation feast emphasize even more the great importance of Matthew as a patron and protector of the Salernitan region. These hymns share a triumphant ring, where they rejoice in the arrival of Matthew's bodily remains to Salerno. The first hymn, written for the first Vespers and sung on the eve of the feast-day proper (*Ad salutem fidelium*), has this note of preferential treatment:

> The body of the apostle has arrived
> for the salvation of the faithful,
> both clergy and people;
> praise be to the son of God!
>
> Sing praises, blessed church,
> sing the praises of Christ,

---

[141] *Hic languidis pectoribus / perustione criminum / verbis medelam praebuit / a te sibi iam creditis.* Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 88.

[142] *Lavit sacro baptismate / regem simul cum coniuge, / quorum potenter filium / resuscitavit mortuum.* Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 88.

[143] *Sermone iusto nuptias / confuderat tyrannicas, / pro quo decorus laurea / martyr polum transcenderat.* Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 88.

raise clear voices;
let your voice and your heart be in unison.

Clap your hands for the divine grace,
because joined to its glory
Matthew does not abandon us,
he protects us, and destroys our enemies.

Taken from Ethiopia,
Matthew's body reached Brittany;
afterwards it was from the region of Lucania[144]
given to the people of Salerno.

At the feast of the translation of this body,
in the newness of our time
we rejoice with new hearts,
with hymns, roses and flowers.

O Christ, who rules over man,
who does not want anyone to perish,
turn us, thanks to your evangelist,
to heavenly joy.

O Matthew, all people
who live for you beseech you:
pray for us, so that the son of God
may be propitious towards us.

We ask you, o creator of all things,
that this Easter joy
may, through the forgiveness of sins,
guide us home as happy people. Amen.[145]

The hymn describes how Matthew's relics were brought to Salerno from Ethiopia via Brittany and Paestum (stanza 4), for the benefit of the entire church, clergy and lay people alike (stanza 1). Matthew's *presentia* is significant for the community of Salerno, because the apostle is related to divine grace (stanza 3). The translation of the relics, procured by the author of these hymns, heralds a new epoch (*sub novitate temporis*)

[144] The region where Paestum was situated.

[145] *1. Ad salutem fidelium, / cleri simul et civium, / venit corpus apostoli; / sit laus divinae soboli! 2. Lauda, felix ecclesia, / pange Christi praeconia, / claris vocibus intona; / sint vox et corda consona. 3. Plaude divinae gratiae, / quia coniunctus gloriae / Mathaeus nos non deserit, / nos servat, hostes conterit. 4. Sumptum ex Aethiopiae / corpus cepit Brictania; / post ex Lucanis finibus / datur Salerni civibus. 5. Festo translati corporis / sub novitate temporis / novis laetemur mentibus, / hymnis, rosis et floribus. 6. Christe, qui regis hominem, / qui perire vis neminem, / evangelistae gratia / trahe nos ad sublimia. 7. O Mathaee, te poscimus / omnes, qui tibi vivimus: / ora quod Dei Filius / fiat nobis propitius. 8. Quaesumus, auctor omnium, / ut hoc paschale gaudium / nos per reatus veniam / laetos ducat ad patriam. Amen.* Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, pp. 225–226.

and renews the life of the people belonging to the blessed community that possesses these precious objects (stanza 5). The final three stanzas, addressing Christ, Matthew and God the Father, supplicate for salvation and eternal bliss in the name of the apostle and evangelist. The final stanza, moreover, situates the hymn in the paschal tide during which Matthew's relic translation was celebrated (6 May).[146] This hymn is a pointed expression of notions of pride and privilege that were obviously considered to be connected to the possession of the relics of such an influential and powerful patron saint.

The second hymn, *In nocturna vigilia*, is composed for the night vigils and is not very specific, concentrating largely on the continuous praise that comes to Matthew and his God. But the third translation hymn, for the morning service (*ad laudem: Lux matutina rutilat*) breathes the same atmosphere of delight in Salerno's fortune caused by the presence of this exceptional property. In this short hymn, Matthew's excellent body (*corpus eximium*) is compared to the ark of the covenant, which is here applied as a prefiguration of Christ, whose coming into the world was announced by 'the light of a new star' (*sub luce novi sideris*):[147]

> The light of dawn colours red;
> the clergy praises Matthew,
> whose excellent body
> is given to us to our profit.
>
> He has come as the ark of the covenant
> under the light of a new star;
> he announces the light of salvation,
> he has come to protect us.[148]

This hymn is a little jewel showing the Salernitans overjoyed at the presence of Matthew's relics in their own city.

The hymns in honour of Matthew composed by archbishop Alfanus shed an exceptionally clear light on the relevance an apostle's cult could have for the formation of ecclesiastical communities in the medieval world, as well as for the development of political and ecclesiastical change. The hymns for Matthew are a special case with particular

---

[146] See footnote 51 above.

[147] The ark of the covenant was interpreted in the Middle Ages as an Old Testament prefiguration of Christ and his Mother Mary, but also of saints such as the apostle Bartholomew. See Petrus Damiani, *Sermones* 42.6. I. Lucchesi (ed.), *Sancti Petri Damiani sermones. Ad fidem antiquiorum codicum restituti* (Turnhout, 1983 = CCCM 57), p. 261.

[148] *1. Lux matutina rutilat; / clerus Mathaeo iubilat, / cuius corpus eximium / nobis datur in praemium. 2. Iam venit arca foederis / sub luce novi sideris; / lucem salutis nuntiat, / venit ut nos custodiat.* Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 228.

weight to this investigation, because we have here, among so many anonymous liturgical texts, some compositions whose author is not only known but even turns out to be a crucial figure in the history of the medieval church. At the end of the 11th century, the triumvirate of pope, local archbishop, and local lay ruler cooperated in the building of a new cathedral as an essential part of their work of reformation and reorganization: the reinforcement of a Christian church under papal authority in a region where Byzantine Christians and Muslim Arabs had set the tone for ages. The ground of these restoration activities is formed by an apostolic fundament, personified in Matthew. Alfanus and Robert Guiscard found enough material in the apocryphal story of Matthew's gift of the evangelic light to the darkest of regions, Ethiopia, for this apostle to be and remain the patron and protector of the community of Christians in Salerno.

The case of Matthew's cult in Salerno, stimulated by the most prominent persons of the region in political and ecclesial perspective, is illuminating for the role the apostles could play in the medieval church. Not only Peter (and Paul), or the apostles as a collegium of 12, but also the individual apostles functioned as authoritative role models and powerful patrons, particularly as far as their work on the foundation of the universal church is concerned.

6.2. *Hymns from Spain*

In the manuscripts transmitting the texts and traditions of the liturgy of early medieval Spain, a hymn in honour of Matthew is found: *Christe, tu rerum opifexque operum*. The hymn is entirely in harmony with the elaborate style of the Old Spanish rite, characterized by lengthy hymns, especially when they are composed for the commemoration of a saint.[149] In that sense, the hymn in honour of Matthew is similar to the hymns on Philip and James, discussed in the previous chapter.

The hymn *Christe, tu rerum opifexque operum* is found in two manuscripts of the 10th and 11th centuries respectively.[150] Both contain a Psalter and Hymnal, one from Toledo[151] and one from Silos.[152] The hymn is

[149] Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 35–36.

[150] Ibid., pp. 219–221.

[151] Cod. Madrid 1005 (olim Chapter Library, Toledo 35.1), 10th century. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 21.

[152] Cod. London, BM add. 30851, 11th century. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 26.

closely linked to the text of the Latin *Passion of Matthew* as found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Main themes, clearly inspired by the passion, are Matthew's preaching, his struggle with and defeat of the magicians and their dragons, as well as his protection of Iphigeneia's consecrated life. The latter includes the apostle's collision with King Hirtacus, which he had to pay for with his life. The final stanzas of the hymn commemorate the foundation of Matthew's cult and the spread of Christianity in Ethiopia under Iphigeneia's guidance.

The ample attention to Matthew's preaching does not come as a surprise. Preaching is known as one of the main commissions of the apostles. Moreover, it has become sufficiently clear in the previous sections that Matthew's role as an evangelist was at least as important to the development of his cult as his apostolate. It is interesting to see how the Old Spanish hymn depicts Matthew's preaching as a continuation of God's revelation in the Old Testament. As was indicated in the context of the eucharistic prayers for Matthew's *natale* in the Old Spanish liturgy, Matthew's gospel is, among the four canonical gospels, frequently considered as 'the Jewish'. This notion is reflected by the second and third stanzas of the hymn, where not only the creation of the world and of the human community in paradisiacal circumstances is commemorated, but also Moses and the gift of the commandments, as well as the preaching of the Old Testament prophets. The work of the latter, as it is described in the third stanza, is not much different from the mission activities of the apostles:

> Then sixteen prophets came forth,
> they instructed the people on behalf of the salvation of their soul,
> they destroyed the error of vain idols.
> They preached faith in you, God in heaven,
> and they prophesied the expectation of you, God in the flesh.[153]

The fourth stanza jumps to Christ's incarnation and baptism, immediately followed by the election of the apostles in stanza 5. Only 11 names are mentioned—Judas Iskarioth is already missing in this enumeration.

In stanza 6, the actual story of Matthew's mission and martyrdom begins. Matthew is sent to Ethiopia and received there by the eunuch. Initially, his most important accomplishment is the liberation of the people from the delusive tricks of the magicians and their dragons.

---

[153] *Exhinc prophetae bis octoni veniunt, / populi corda ad salutem instruunt, / errorem vanum idolorum destruunt, / credere Deum te caelestem praedicunt / et praestolare incarnatum proferunt*. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 219.

Matthew is a worthy follower of the Old Testament prophets—both prophets and apostle had power over the 'vain idols' (*Exhortat coetum vanos deos temnere*). Where the prophets destroyed the idols themselves, Matthew exhorts the people to put off the faith in idols, and to believe in Christ, in order to regain paradise:

> He urged the crowds to despise the vain gods
> and to have faith in Jesus Christ the true God,
> so that they would enjoy the delights of paradise.[154]

This brings us back to Matthew's preaching of earthly paradise (*Passion of Matthew*, c. 5) as reflected by the second stanza. Although idols and dragons disturbed the peace in which man lived with God and neighbour, the apostle has come as an envoy or even a vicar of Christ in order to restore this peace and to reopen paradise to the people.

Not only the people but, most importantly, the ruler and his family are converted. After the king's son is raised from death by the apostle, the king and his relatives are baptized, and the people build a church (stanzas 7 and 8). Thus the foundation is laid for the Ethiopian church. Stanzas 9–11 sing the fate of the apostle, his defence of Iphigeneia and her virgin companions against the evil King Hirtacus, Matthew's martyrdom, and the punishment of Hirtacus and his son. In these stanzas, the hymn follows the *Passion of Matthew* in all details, including the shameful disease with which Hirtacus is hit and the possession of his son by a demon (stanza 12). But most crucial is the foundation of the church in Ethiopia, started and stimulated by Iphigeneia and Beor, the converted king's children:

> Iphigeneia's brother then took the kingdom,
> who carried the name Beor after his baptism.
> The holy martyr himself had anointed him with chrism.
> Soon the provinces were full of churches,
> where they sang to God with pleasant melodies.[155]

The hymn remains very close to the *Passion*, not only by mentioning the names of Iphigeneia and her brother Beor but also by repeating the fact that Beor was anointed by the apostle himself to be the new church's minister (*Passion of Matthew*, c. 15). However, the hymn keeps

---

[154] *Exhortat coetum vanos deos temnere / et Deum verum Iesum Christum credere, / ut paradisi fruantur delicie*. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 220.

[155] *Regnum hoc cepit frater Effigeniae, / Beor gestabat nomen ex baptismate, / quem sanctus martyr unxeratque chrismate; / provinciae sunt plenae mox basilicae, / quo canunt Deo dulci modulamine*. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 220.

silent about Iphigeneia's role in the dissemination of Christianity and the building of churches all over Ethiopia, which the *Passion of Matthew* attributes so explicitly to her (*Passion of Matthew*, c. 15).

The commemoration of the apostle's foundation in faraway Ethiopia is immediately followed by two stanzas praying for the same apostolic presence and protection in the community of the faithful for which this hymn is composed:

> Take heed of the prayer of your people, o Christ:
> be favourable to the sick and raise those who are broken down,
> give comfort to those who are mourning and eternal rest to those who have died,
> keep plague and war away from us, and take away all quarrel,
> and confirm peace in the hearts of brothers.
>
> We humbly pray to you, o Christ, as your servants:
> may this apostle help us as a patron,
> may he obtain forgiveness for our sins,
> and, after all our wrong-doing is pulled out by the roots,
> may life, while he remains near, be powerful with virtues.[156]

It is a pity that the hymn *Christe, tu rerum opifexque operum*, found in two important manuscripts representing the liturgy of early medieval Spain, is not provided with a well-known author's name, as were the hymns from South Italy. We know nothing about the historical circumstances in which the hymn was written. Even though it is plausible that the hymn was composed for the church in Toledo, where the oldest manuscript transmission of the text is found, we are entirely ignorant about the period in which it is made. This could be the 7th century, the age of rich liturgical productivity in the churches of Visigothic Spain,[157] or it could be a later period. The historical environment is even more difficult to determine, since it is not clear when Matthew's cult started to develop in medieval Spain.[158] However this may be, even if it is not possible to interpret the hymn of Matthew with the help of historical

---

[156] *Votum rex plebis, Christe, ratum effice: / languidis fave elisosque erige, / maestis solamen, functis dona requiem, / arce et pestem, bellum, litem remove, / fraterno pacem solida in pectore. // Supplices, Christe, vernuli exposcimus, / assistat fautor nobis hic apostolus, / impetret nostris veniam sceleribus, / evulsis cunctis vitiisque funditus / vita, dum instat, polleat virtutibus.* Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 221.

[157] Cfr R. Collins, *Early medieval Spain. Unity in diversity (400–1000)*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1995), esp. pp. 75–79, 98, 10–105; King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, pp. 485–494.

[158] Matthew is not mentioned in C. García Rodríguez, *El culto de los santos en la Espana romana y visigoda* (Madrid, 1966).

information as we did with the Salernitan hymns above, it is clear that the apostle is considered as an important founding father of the church and that the apocryphal accounts of his missionary work and martyrdom, as written down in the Latin *Passion of Matthew*, were used as a model for the formation and / or development of the church in early medieval Spain.

7. *Conclusion*

The apostle Matthew is a complex figure in the medieval liturgy. He is not only one of the 12 apostles but also is one of the evangelists, and he suffered martyrdom as well. As such, Matthew represents divergent groups of the hierarchy of saints. Since the 2nd century onwards, Matthew has regularly been depicted as the first of the four evangelists, and, according to James of Voragine, his gospel is the most widely read of the four.[159] In the canonical gospels and the book of Acts, Matthew does not occupy a very distinguished place among the disciples. Unlike other disciples, such as Peter and Andrew, the sons of Zebedee or Philip, Matthew is not known for a special closeness to Jesus. His calling, however, is a remarkable event which receives much attention in the liturgical texts. Matthew, sitting in his tax-booth, is spotted by Jesus as he passes, and he is called out of his former existence into a new life as one of Jesus's disciples. The former tax collector, despised by Jews and Romans alike, receives his new Master in his own house and shares a meal with him. Thus Matthew represents not only various groups of the hierarchy of saints but also an important group in the hierarchy of sinners. His transformation from a money-grubber to a wandering disciple who gave up all his possessions for a life with Christ is seen as an illuminating example for the faithful in their prayers: they hope to be supported by Matthew's intercession so that their own conversion and transformation will proceed speedily.

The influence of Matthew's gospel, which is considered to present Christ's humanity and his dwelling among humans in a special way, is

---

[159] Jacopo da Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, c. 136.72: *Eius enim euangelium pre ceteris euangelistis magis in ecclesia frequentatur, sicut et psalmi Dauid et epistole Pauli pre ceteris scripturis amplius in ecclesia recitantur* ('His gospel is read more frequently in the church than the others, as the Psalms and Paul's letters are heard more often than the other Scriptures'). Maggioni (ed.), *Legenda Aurea*, vol. 2, p. 962; trans. Ryan, *Golden legend*, vol. 2, p. 187.

clearly visible in the liturgical texts. Many prayers for the eucharist pay ample attention to the mystery of the incarnation, generally immediately linked to the redemption of humankind. At the same time it must be noted that the early medieval eucharistic prayers, as found in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* and the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, also include much doctrinal material that stresses Christ's eternal being with the Father before all times and all creation; his being of the same substance and nature as the Father; and the Son's role in the creation of the world. It seems as if an extensive elaboration on Christ's humanity bears a potential threat in it to bring christology out of balance in these early ages of the medieval period.

Still, it is Matthew's preaching of Christ's humanity that linked him early on to the symbol of man as it is presented in the apocalyptic visions of Ezechiel and John. These visions, especially that of Ezechiel, play a crucial part in the monastic office for Matthew's feast-day. The first chapter of Ezechiel is interwoven in the three nocturns of the monastic night-office, where the responsories sung as an answer to the readings go through the entire vision. This fascinating text is worthy of further study, in which the place it occupied in patristic and medieval exegesis must be considered, preferably hand in hand with a more thorough investigation of the pictorial representation of Matthew in medieval art.

Although Matthew's role as the first evangelist seems to push aside attention to his apostolate and preaching life in the prayers and chants for his feast-day, the latter are not entirely absent in the liturgical texts. As was to be expected, the texts belonging to the Old Spanish liturgical tradition elaborate on Matthew's acts and martyrdom. In the prayers paying attention to Matthew's *Passion*, the most important themes that emerge are his raising people from the dead, particularly the little Prince Eufranor. The *Passion* is quoted almost verbatim where Matthew refuses to be venerated as a god and refers to the 'true God' who sent him as a preacher to convert the people from their cult of idols. Matthew's preaching as it is recounted in the *Passion* is echoed also by the liturgical texts. Reference is made, for example, to the apostle's presentation of the earthly paradise and the four rivers that stream there. His institution of a convent of consecrated virgins is referred to as well. Finally, the liturgical text sings the praises of Matthew's martyrdom, especially the appropriate timing of his martyrdom, the apostle being killed while he was praying at the altar, the table of the eucharistic offering. Both the sword as the instrument of his passion and King Hir-

tacus as the personification of the persecutor and enemy of the church are mentioned by name.

The analysis of material has made sufficiently clear that, in the case of Matthew, hymns are of great importance to the study of the incorporation of extra-canonical material on the apostles in texts for the liturgy. Both the hymns of Alfanus of Salerno and those found in early medieval Spain are very important texts, showing a lively interest in Matthew's acts and martyrdom as a model for the current life of the church in the areas involved.

CHAPTER FIVE

SIMON AND JUDE: BROTHERS IN MARTYRDOM

In the liturgy of the western churches, the apostles Simon and Jude are generally celebrated at the same day: 28 October. This shared feast-day is based on the Latin apocryphal Acts of Simon and Jude, as they are found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. In this legendary account, the martyrdom in which the apostles were united is dated on the fifth day before the Kalends of November, that is 28 October. The liturgical celebration of Simon and Jude is directly connected to the apocryphal literature about these apostles which circulated in the West, probably from the late 6th or early 7th century.

1. *Development of the cult*

In the New Testament, there are only few passages where the apostles Simon and Jude are mentioned. In the list of the 12 disciples of Jesus in the canonical gospels (Mt. 10:4; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15) or in the book of Acts (1:13), Simon and Jude are not explicitly presented as a pair.[1] Yet traditionally, these two apostles are identified with the brothers of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, because a Simon and Judas are mentioned in the enumeration of Jesus's relatives in Mt. 13:55:

> Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? And are not his brothers James and Joseph and Simon and Judas?[2]

[1] D. Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', in ÉAC 2, pp. 837–864, at 839.

[2] *Nonne hic est fabri filius nonne mater eius dicitur Maria et fratres eius Iacobus et Ioseph et Simon et Iudas?* Blinzler denies this identification (J. Blinzler, 'Simon Zelotes', in LThK IX (1964), cols. 772–773, at col. 772); Spadafora leaves the question unanswered (F. Spadafora, 'Simone, apostolo, santo', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* XI, cols. 1169–1173, at col. 1169), while Leloir seems to relate Mt. 13:55 positively to the apostle Simon (Leloir (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres* (CCSA 4), p. 706).

Simon is surnamed *chananeus* (Mt. 10:5; Mk. 3:18) or *zelotes* (Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13).[3] The first surname has been interpretated by some as 'born in Cana', the Galilean city where Jesus attended the wedding as his first public appearance (John 2:1–11). In the Byzantine church, therefore, Simon is identified with Nathanael,[4] who appears in the gospel of John as originating of Cana (John 1:46–52 and 21:2), as well as with the bridegroom of the wedding in Cana.[5] As has already been brought up in chapter 2, Nathanael was also identified with the apostle Bartholomew. In other interpretations, the surname *chananeus* (from the Armenian) is equated with the Greek word *zelotes*, both words meaning to refer to Simon's character as a zealous person.[6] According to some modern authors, the nickname *Zelotes* refers to Simon's membership of the Hebrew anti-Roman party of the Zealots.[7]

In the canonical gospels, the apostle Jude is mentioned only once as an individual, namely where he asks Jesus for explanation about his manifestation to the disciples (John 14:22). Jude is generally identified with Lebbeus or Thaddeus (Mt. 10:3; cfr Mk. 3:18), and considered as a relative of James the Less, the 'brother of the Lord' (Lk. 6:16; Acts 1:13), whether as his brother or as his son.[8] Some sources, such as the *Diatesseron* in its Middle Dutch version, distinguish Jude the son of James from Jude the brother of James. In this line, Jude the apostle (James's son) is not the same as Jude the brother of James and the author of the canonical Epistle of Jude.[9] If this distinction is made, the Jude mentioned in Mt. 13:55 (see above) is not the same as the apostle.[10] Many ancient authors, however, did not make these distinctions, but rather considered the apostle, the relative of Jesus, and the writer of the Epistle as one and the same person.[11]

---

3 On the meaning of these words, see Alibert et al., 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 839.

4 Leloir (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres* (CCSA 4), pp. 707–708.

5 Spadafora, 'Simone', p. 1169.

6 Ibid.

7 Blinzler, 'Simon', cols. 772–775.

8 Alibert et al., 'Passion de Simon et Jude', pp. 839–840; Haase, *Apostel und Evangelisten*, pp. 273–274.

9 M. Peretto, 'Giuda Taddeo, apostolo, santo', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* VI, cols. 1152–1155, at col. 1152.

10 Ibid.

11 Farmer (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of saints*, p. 291; Peretto, 'Giuda Taddeo', col. 1152.

While in the Byzantine world the apostles Simon and Jude had different feast-days, in the Latin churches they share a common *natale*, linked to a shared martyrdom in Persia or, more specifically, the city Suanir, attributed to them by the Latin legendary tradition from the late 6th or early 7th century onwards.[12] The Latin world is consistent in assigning 28 October to the pair as their *dies natalis*, the date mentioned already in the manuscripts of the Latin *Passio Simonis et Judae* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias as the apostles' day of death.[13] It is adopted by the major early medieval martyrologies as well as the sacramentaries. However, some local martyrologies (Napels, Toledo) give the alternative date of their commemoration, 1 July, which is given in some other manuscripts transmitting the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias.[14]

Little is known about the spread of relics of Simon and Jude through medieval Europe. The bodily remains of the pair were venerated in Rome, where the chapel that preserved the host in the ancient basilica of St Peter was dedicated to them. This dedication can be dated to the 12th century at least.[15] Relics were also venerated in Reims and Toulouse,[16] but it is not known when they were brought there. The emperor Henry III dedicated a sanctuary to Simon and Jude in his palatinate city Goslar.[17]

Further charting of the cult of Simon and Jude is only possible, so it seems, by tracing the liturgical texts transmitted for their feast-day, and the cult places dedicated to their commemoration. Work on the latter is done by, among others, Rohault de Fleury, although he gives little information on chronology and coherence in the development of

---

12 Kellner, *Heortologie*, p. 224. See on the city Suanir Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, pp. 144–145, where he states that there is no Persian city with this name; likewise Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 859, footnote 30.

13 Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 862.

14 Kellner, *Heortologie*, p. 224. The Dublin manuscript of the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias (Dublin, Trinity College 737) gives 1 July in a later addition to the (9th-century) manuscript. See Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 862; and Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, pp. 168–169.

15 Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments* (Paris, 1893–1900, 10 vols.), vol. 10, pp. 49–61, at 51; Jounel, 'Le culte des apôtres à Rome', p. 172; Spadafora, 'Simone', col. 1171. Farmer dates the arrival of relics of Simon and Jude in Rome to the 7th or 8th century, but without further specifications or references. Farmer (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of saints*, p. 291; may be he is following G.McN. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian imagery* (Oxford, 1936), p. 102, likewise without reference to sources.

16 Peretto, 'Giuda Taddeo', col. 1152; Farmer (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of saints*, p. 291.

17 Peretto, 'Giuda Taddeo', col. 1152.

the patrocinium.[18] With regard to the transmission of liturgical texts for the feast-day of Simon and Jude, the oldest evidence is found outside the early 'Roman' sacramentaries. There is no mass for the pair in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* in its pre-Carolingian form or in the earlier collection of mass *libelli* compiled in the *Sacramentarium Veronense*,[19] nor, for that matter, in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*.[20] The feast-day of Simon and Jude seems to have developed outside Rome. In Gaul, for instance, the Eighth-century *Gelasiana* offer a mass for the *natale* and for the preceding vigil.[21] Subsequently Benedict of Aniane's Supplement to the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* offers a *praefatio* for the feast of Simon and Jude, both for the *natale* itself and for the vigil. Early traces of a liturgical feast-day are also found in the Old Spanish liturgy, the sources of which go back to the 7th to 9th centuries as has been discussed above.[22] In the same period, the liturgical cult of Simon and Jude is attested by the sacramentaries of the diocese Milan, most importantly the *Sacramentary of Biasca* from the 9th or 10th century and the *Sacramentary of Bergamo*, transmitted in a 9th-century manuscript.[23] In the south of Italy, a liturgical commemoration of Simon and Jude is found already in the books representing the Beneventan rite.[24] The texts of these masses are discussed in more detail in section 4 of this chapter. First the development of the apocryphal literature concerned with Simon and Jude will be treated in the following section.

2. *Apocryphal traditions*

Western and eastern traditions vary greatly not only in the liturgical context concerning Simon and Jude but also with regard to the apocryphal literature about these apostles. In contrast with the Latin *Passion of Simon and Jude*, found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, the eastern traditions do not treat Simon and Jude as a pair. In the case of

---

[18] See footnote 15.

[19] L.C. Mohlberg (ed.), *Sacramentarium Veronense*, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1994). For a discussion of this book, see Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 39–46.

[20] Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, vol. 2.1, p. 144.

[21] Ibid., p. 148.

[22] See General Introduction, section 3.1.

[23] Heiming (ed.), *Sakramentar von Biasca*, pp. xxxv–xliii; Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, vol. 2.1, pp. 192–193; Paredi (ed.), *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, pp. viii–ix.

[24] A.A. King, *Liturgies of the past* (London, 1959), p. 63. On the Old Beneventan rite, see Ibid., pp. 62–76; on the Beneventan *Missal of Canosa*, see chapter 2.4. above

Simon, various legends circulated in different eastern languages, which situated his missionary work and martyrdom alternately around the Black Sea, in the Caucasus and Mesopotamia, or in Egypt and North Africa.[25] The Egyptian tradition is mentioned also in various martyrological sources of the early medieval West and has even found a place in the liturgy of the hours for the feast-day of Simon and Jude. This will be discussed further in sections 3 and 5 of this chapter. Jude is identified with the disciple Thaddeus (or, in Syriac, Addaï) in the legendary tradition of Edessa and Armenia, who healed Abgar the king of Edessa after the latter's famous correspondence with Jesus.[26]

The Latin tradition, however, considers Simon and Jude exclusively as the apostles of Persia, where they shared in preaching, performing miracles, and suffering martyrdom.[27] The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* names the city Suanir as the place of their passion and death.[28] The Latin *Passio Simonis et Iudae*, included in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, tells of their wanderings through the 12 provinces of Persia before they came to Suanir to die. There are several links between the *Passion of Simon and Jude* and the apocryphal literature related to the apostle Peter. First, the combat with the sorcerers Zaroes and Arphaxat in the *Passion of Simon and Jude* can be compared with Peter's encounters with Simon Magus. Likewise, the region where Simon and Jude performed their mission and martyrdom competes with the regions that claim Peter as their founding father.[29] The assignment of Persia as mission area to Simon (and Jude) can be caused by a confusion of Simon Zelotes with Simon Peter.[30] Before going further into this kind of connections a summary of the Latin *Passion of Simon and Jude* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias will be given here.

[25] The Egyptian tradition seems to have arisen from a confusion with Simon Peter because of the similarity in names. Alibert et al., 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 840. See for more similarities between the legends about Simon Peter and Simon Zelotes below.

[26] Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* I.13. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 2.1, pp. 83–87. See also Peretto, 'Giuda Taddeo', col. 1152; Alibert et al., 'Passion de Simon et Jude', pp. 840, 842. See for a discussion Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, pp. 154–158; 178–200. On the legend of Abgar, see chapter 1, footnote 14.

[27] Alibert et al., 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 839.

[28] *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Delehaye and Quentin (eds.), *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p. 575. Cfr. Spadafora, 'Simone', col. 1170.

[29] Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 145.

[30] Cfr Alibert et al., 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 840.

The Passion starts *in medias res*, when it states that Simon Cananaeus and Jude meet—in Persia, where they are brought 'by the inspiration of the holy Spirit'—the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat, 'who had fled from Ethiopia in order to escape from the apostle Matthew'.[31] Thus the relation with the *Passion of Matthew* is presented in the first sentence of the *Passion of Simon and Jude*.[32] While the *Passion of Matthew* emphasizes the magicians' healing practices, the *Passion of Simon and Jude* gives a summary of their teachings. A mix of various heretic doctrines is attributed to them, which could easily be labelled 'gnostic' and shows many similarities with Manichaean teachings. Apart from a dualistic theology, rejection of the flesh, and denial of Christ's bodily incarnation, passion, and resurrection, the magicians proclaim that the sun, moon, and water are gods and should be venerated as such.[33] The latter element of the magicians' teaching returns in some iconographic scenes where Simon and Jude are depicted in combat with sun and moon, most notably in the mosaics in the south vault of the Basilica di San Marco in Venice,[34] dated to the beginning of the 13th century.[35] It is characterized as typically Manichaean by Fabricius, who refers to works of Augustine and Leo the Great.[36] The relation with the Manichaean doctrine is not surprising, since this movement and its founder Mani have their origin in Persia.[37]

The second encounter of the apostles Simon and Jude is with the commander of the Persian army Varardach, the general of King Xerxes.[38] In his search for advice concerning his intended campaign against the Indians, Varardach's usual counsellors (soothsayers, magicians) are

---

[31] *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 7; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 608.

[32] See also Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 841; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 169.

[33] *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 7: *Solem et lunam deorum numero applicantes, aquam simul deitatem habere docebant.* Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 609.

[34] Demus, *The mosaics of San Marco*, vol. I.1, p. 225. For illustrations, see ibid., vol. I.2, plate 361, 362.

[35] Demus, *The mosaics of San Marco*, vol. I.1, p. 230.

[36] Fabricius refers to Augustine, *Haeresi* 46 and Leo Magnus, *Sermo 4 quadragesimali*, where this feature is explicitly connected to the Manichaeans; see also Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, pp. 171–172.

[37] W.H.C. Frend, *The rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 314–318. On the role of sun, moon, and water in the Manichaean doctrine, see ibid., p. 316; F.Chr. Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht und entwickelt* (Tübingen, 1831; repr. Hildesheim 1973), pp. 226–227.

[38] Cfr Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 844; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 2.2, p. 170.

hindered 'by the presence of the apostles'[39]—corresponding to the muteness of the local gods in the temple of Astaroth where Bartholomew dwelled. Varardach turns to the apostles, who reveal their origin (*genus*), their condition (*conditio*), and their purpose (*causa*) as Hebrews (*Hebraei sumus*), slaves of Jesus Christ (*servi sumus Jesu Christi*), and the salvation of the Persian people (*salutis vestrae causa venimus*) respectively.[40] A competition follows between Varardach's soothsayers, who prophesy war, and the apostles, who predict peace. When the apostles' predictions are proven right by the offer of peace from the side of the Indians,[41] the commander threatens to punish his former counsellors by fire. But the apostles intervene for them, preaching the love of enemies and the evangelical precept to reward evil with good (cfr Lk. 6:27–28; Mt. 5:44).[42] Varardach offers the apostles a rich reward in gold, but they refuse everything 'that belongs to the earth',[43] as Bartholomew did. Then the commander takes the apostles with him to the king and presents them as 'gods'—a similarity with the *Passion of Matthew*.

In the third part of the *Passion*, a combat between the apostles and Varardach at one side and the magicians and their supporters at the other breaks out in front of the king. The combat turns into a controversy about the true god, where the apostles preach the gospel in order to convert their opponents. Particularly striking is the prayer the apostles say when the supporters of the magicians ask them to deliver them from the 'idols':

> 'God of Israel, who has nullified the magical creations of Jamnes and Mambres and has delivered these magicians to confusion and sores, and has let them perish, let your hand be in a similar way over these magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat. However, concerning these your servants,

---

39 *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 8; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 611.

40 Ibid.

41 Cfr Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini*, c. 4, where peace is offered by the enemy at the decisive moment, in order to confirm the saint's authority. Fontaine (ed.), SChr 133, pp. 260–262.

42 *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 11: *Disciplina magistri nostri has leges tenet, ut non solum malum pro malo non cedat, sed etiam bona pro malis restituat. Estque hoc solum discrimen inter nos et caeteras disciplinas, quia omnes reliqui malum reddunt pro malo, omnesque odientes se odio habent. Nos autem e contra diligimus inimicos nostros, et benefacimus his qui nos odiunt, et oramus Dominum pro calumniantibus et persequentibus nos*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 615–616.

43 *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 12: *Nobis non licet aliquid possidere supra terram, ex eo quod nostra possessio est coelo, quae est aeterna, et ubi immortalitas regnat*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 617.

> who have promised to abstain from every cult of idols, make them to rise up as strong and firm and consistent opponents against the magicians, so that all know that you are the one almighty, who reigns forever and ever'. And when all answered 'Amen', they were signed on their foreheads and went away.[44]

In this passage, the contest between apostles and magicians is provided with a biblical foundation through the reference to the magicians Jamnes and Mambres, who acted in front of Pharao when Moses pleaded release for the people of Israel. The magicians, who remain nameless in Exodus 7–9, receive names in Paul's letter to Timothy (II Tim. 3:8).[45] The prayer results in the conversion of the supporters of the magicians, but the magicians themselves refuse to convert and instead flee from Simon and Jude, 'as they fled from Matthew', and proclaim their hatred for the apostles all through Persia. The apostles remain in Babylon with Varardach and the king, and under their protection found a church by ordaining priests, deacons, and clergy (*presbyteros et diaconos et clericos*).[46]

Ecclesiastical life is not implanted without troubles, as is evident from the story about a child born out of wedlock. The baby's grandparents accuse the deacon Eufrosinus of having seduced their daughter. But the baby, one day old, speaks in favour of the deacon's innocence.[47] Other miraculous events solidify the apostles' authority in the region, such as their power over two wild tigresses.[48] The people of Babylon are baptized after their king and his family have been baptized first. They themselves destroy their temples and build churches instead. The first bishop in the city, appointed by the apostles, is Abdias, 'who had come

[44] *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 19: *'Deus Israhel, qui exinanisti magica figmenta Jamnes et Mambres et dedisti eos in confusionem et ulcera, et perire eos iussisti, sic faciat et hic manus tua super hos magos Zaroen et Arfaxat. Hos autem famulos tuos, promittentes quod ab omni cultura idolorum abscedent, fac fortes et stabiles, et constanter contra eos insurgere, ut cognoscant omnes, quia tu es unus omnipotens, qui regnas in saecula saeculorum'. Cumque respondissent 'Amen' signatis frontibus abierunt*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 622.

[45] The OT magicians' names are also mentioned in Origen's work *History of Moses, Jamnes and Mambres*, and in the *Decretum Gelasianum*: *Paenitentia Jannae et Mambrae (apocryphus)*. A. van den Born, 'Jambres en Jannes', in idem et al. (eds.), *Bijbelsch Woordenboek* (Roermond, 1941), col. 733.

[46] *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 18; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 625.

[47] *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 18; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 625–626.

[48] *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 19; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 626–627.

with them from Judea, and who had seen the Lord with his own eyes'.[49] Here the *Passion* comes to a first conclusion, where the author of the apostles' Acts is identified as Graton, and the Latin translator of this account as the historiographer Africanus.[50]

The martyrdom of the apostles is added in a final part. The apostles, after having left Babylon, travel through Persia, where the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat precede them in every town. Simon and Jude arrive in Suanir, where they stay with one of their disciples, named Semnes. The religious leaders of the city, worshippers of the sun, immediately enter into combat with the apostles, inspired in advance by the reports of Zaroes and Arphaxat. When the apostles refuse to worship the statues of sun and moon, martyrdom is their reward, but not before they have revealed the true content of the statues. They evoke 'two black Ethiopians' from the statues; the symbols of evil and diabolic presence.[51] The local priests kill the apostles, who die 'on the fifth day before the Kalends of November'.[52] At that very moment, a flash of lightning strikes the temple of sun and moon, destroys it, and incinerates the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat. A church is built to house the apostles' bodies and is dedicated three years after their death, on the day of their martyrdom. A second epilogue concludes the *Passion*, in which the work is attributed to Abdias instead of Graton.[53]

---

[49] *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 20: *Ordinavere autem apostoli in civitate Babylonis episcopum nomine Abdiam, qui cum ipsis venerat a Judaea, qui et ipse viderat oculis suis Dominum*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 628.

[50] See Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', pp. 858–859.

[51] On the figure of the black Ethiopian in Latin hagiography, see chapter 4, footnote 39.

[52] Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 862; Fabricius gives the alternative date 1 July: *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 23; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 634. See the discussion on the manuscript tradition above.

[53] Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 863 and footnote 36. This passage is lacking in Fabricius's edition. The attribution of the collection of Latin 'Acts' of the apostles as a whole to Bishop Abdias of Babylon is discussed in the General Introduction, section 3.5.

3. *Lists of apostles and martyrologies*

3.1. Breviarium apostolorum

It will become clear from the sections on the eucharistic sources (section 4), on the liturgy of the hours (section 5) and on hymns (section 6) that the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, situating the apostles' mission and martyrdom in Persia, has had great influence on the liturgical texts for the feast-day of the apostle pair. Yet another tradition circulated in the West, picturing Simon as a bishop in Egypt and then in Jerusalem, where he succeeded James the Less after the latter's death in the temple, and Jude in Mesopotamia. The two apostles were, according to the martyrologies, celebrated on the same day, namely 28 October. This tradition, where Simon and Jude are attributed different regions of mission and martyrdom, is rendered first by the early Latin lists of apostles: the *Breviarium apostolorum* and Isidore's *De ortu et obitu*. With regard to Simon the *Breviarium* says:

> Simon Zelotes, which means 'the zealous', was first called 'the Cananean', burning with zeal for God. He was Peter's namesake and equal to him in honour. He received the guidance over Egypt and he is said to have held the chair of Jerusalem after James the Just. After a hundred and twenty years, he was worthy to suffer the martyrdom of passion through the cross during Hadrian's reign. He rests in Portoforo, and his *natale* is celebrated on 28 October.[54]

The entry on Jude in the *Breviarium apostolorum* situates Jude's mission in Mesopotamia and Pontus:

> Jude, which means confessor, was a brother of James, and he preached in Mesopotamia and the inlands of Pontus. He is buried in the city Neritus in Armenia, and his feast is celebrated on 28 October.[55]

---

[54] *Simon Zelotis, qui interpretatur zelus; hic primus doctus est cannaneus, zelo dei feruens, par in cognomento Petri et similis in honore; hic accepit Aegypti principatum, et post Iacobum Iustum cathedram dicitur tenuisse Hierusolimorum, et post annos CXX meruit sub Adriano per crucem sustinere martyrium passionis; iacit in Porto Foro; eius natalicium celebratur V kl. novembris. Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis* 3035 (CCSL 159), p. 490.

[55] *Iudas, qui interpretatur confessor, frater Iacubi, in Mesopotamiam adque in interioribus Ponti predicauit; sepultus est in Nerito Arminiae urbe, cuius festiuitas caelebratur V kal. nouenbris. Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis* 3036 (CCSL 159), p. 490.

3.2. De ortu et obitu patrum

With regard to Simon, Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum* largely corresponds to the entry in the *Breviarium*. Instead of Hadrian, it mentions Trajan as the emperor during whose reign Simon suffered martyrdom, and instead of *Porto Foro*, it gives *Bosphoro* as the apostle's resting place.[56]

In Jude's case, Isidore's *De ortu et obitu* is a little more detailed, and clarifies at the same time the geographical indication of 'Neritus':

> Jude, the brother of James, spread the gospel in Mesopotamia and in the inlands of Pontus, and with his teaching he domesticated the untamed and uncivilized people, as if they were wild beasts, and he submitted them to the faith in the Lord. He is buried in Berito, in Armenia.[57]

Probably the city *Beriza* in the north of *Armenia prima* is meant.[58]

3.3. *Medieval martyrologies: Hrabanus, Florus, Ado, and Usuard*

The early medieval martyrologies indicate 28 October as the shared feast-day of Simon and Jude, but they do not all attribute a shared mission area and martyrdom to the apostles. Bede's notice, to begin with, is very confined and does not mention any particulars.[59] The 9th-century martyrologies of Hrabanus, Florus, Ado, and Usuard register Simon and Jude on 28 October.[60] Hrabanus confines himself to a short notice of the feast-day, but Florus is more elaborate. He follows the tradition of the apostle lists, mentioning Simon's episcopate in Egypt and Jerusalem and his death at the age of 120 during the reign of Trajan. Ado, for a change, deviates importantly from Florus. He adds a longer piece on Simon and Jude in his collection of *libelli*. Ado

[56] Isidorus, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, c. 79: *Simon Zelotes, qui prius dictus est Chananaeus, zelo Domini feruens, par in cognomento Petri et similis in honore; accepit Aegypti principatum et post Iacobum Iustum cathedram tenuit Hierosolimorum. Post annos autem centum uiginti meruit sub Traiano per crucem sustenere martyrii passionem. Iacet in Bosphoro*. Chaparro Gómez (ed.), *De ortu et obitu patrum*, p. 215.

[57] Isidorus, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, c. 77: *Iudas, Iacobi frater, in Mesopotamia atque interioribus Ponti euangelizans, feras et indomitas gentes quasi beluarum naturas suo dogmate mitigat et fidei dominicae subiugat. Sepultus est in Berito, Armeniae urbe*. Chaparro Gómez (ed.), *De ortu et obitu patrum*, p. 213.

[58] See Van der Meer and Mohrmann, *Atlas van de oudchristelijke wereld*, map 16A.

[59] *Martyrologium Bedae*: *V Kl. nov. Natale sanctorum apostolorum Symonis et Thaddei*. Quentin (ed.), *Les martyrologes historiques*, p. 55.

[60] Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, p. 109; Florus, *Martyrologium*. Dubois and Renaud (eds.), *Édition pratique des martyrologes*, p. 196; Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 367; Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Usuard*, p. 330.

takes position against Simon's presupposed martyrdom under Trajan as transmitted by Isidore and Florus. He instead follows the tradition of Eusebius / Rufinus' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, stating that the martyr Simon who died on the cross under Trajan's supervision was not the same as the apostle.[61] Ado then adds a long piece on the joined mission of both apostles in Persia, their foundation of the church in that region, and their shared martyrdom. Usuard, finally, follows Ado and mentions both Egypt and Mesopotamia as separate mission fields, and then Persia as the land where Simon and Jude together suffered martyrdom. Ado and Usuard follow the tradition on Simon and Jude as found in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. But the information given in the apostle lists and by Florus differs considerably from the *Passion of Simon and Jude*. The tradition of Simon's presupposed mission to Egypt will not occupy us in the next section, where eucharistic sources are discussed, but will return in section 5 on the liturgy of the hours.

4. *The liturgy of mass*

From the 8th century onwards, the sacramentaries offer material for the feast-day of Simon and Jude. In the present section, the masses found in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and early-medieval England will be discussed.

4.1. *Gaul*

Supplement to the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*

The arrival of relics of Simon and Jude in Rome has not left any traces in the liturgical books of that city before the 12th century. Obviously, the feast-day of the two apostles was celebrated in Gaul at an earlier date than in Rome. When 'the Roman sacramentary', the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, was sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian I in 795, this book containing the liturgy for the major feasts in Rome did not include a mass in commemoration of Simon and Jude. A separate *prefatio* was added in the supplement attributed to Benedict of Aniane both for the *natale* and for the preceding vigil, celebrated on the eve of the feast-day.

[61] Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, *libellus* 9, p. 8. Cfr Eusebius / Rufinus, *Historia*

Preface for the vigil

1683 It is truly worthy [that we praise you], eternal God. For you are to be admired in all your saints, who you have made both well known because of their confession of your name and glorious because of the passion they took upon them for your sake. Therefore, just as they have contended to obtain this victory through fasting and praying, let us likewise be instructed by their example, so that we may appear fit to celebrate the present festivities, may be gathered at the eternal feast, and may be judged worthy through their intercession. Through Christ.[62]

Preface for the natale

1684 It is truly worthy [that we praise you], eternal God, while we glorify you in the honour of your apostles, who has given eternal beatitude to them and has presented such support to our weakness. And may we, through that support, be able to obtain your help and reach the promised reward. Through Christ.[63]

Both prefaces refer in a general way to the excellence of the apostles and ask for the instruction and intercession of these powerful saints. Apart from the martyrdom of the two, mentioned in the preface for the vigil, there is no explicit reference to the *Passion of Simon and Jude*. The instruments of 'fasting and praying', mentioned in the preface for the vigil, are common tools to overcome the worldly bonds and to obtain the victory of eternal life (cfr Mt. 17:21). The preface for the feast-day itself makes no reference at all to any characteristic feature of the apostles.

The Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries

A mass with a preceding vigil in honour of Simon and Jude is found in the Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries, beginning with the old-

ecclesiastica III.32. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 2.1, pp. 267–271. Here the martyr Simon is indicated as *Simeon Cleopae filius*.

62 *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*, 1683: *Vere dignum aeterne deus. Quia tu es mirabilis in omnibus sanctis tuis, quos et nominis tui confessione praeclaros, et suscepta pro te fecisti passione gloriosos. Unde sicut illi ieiunando orandoque certauerunt, ut hanc possent obtinere uictoriam, ita nos eorum exemplis informemur, ut ad caelebranda praesentia festa idonei inueniamur, et ad aeterna percipiamur, et eorum interuentu digni iudicemur. Per Christum.* Deshusses (ed.), *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, pp. 555–556.

63 *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*, 1684: *Vere dignum aeterne deus. Te in tuorum apostolorum glorificantes honore, qui et illis tribuisti beatitudinem sempiternam, et infirmitati nostrae talia praestitisti suffragia. Per quae tua possimus adipisci subsidia, et peruenire ad praemia repromissa. Per Christum.* Deshusses (ed.), *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, p. 556.

est preserved example, the *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*.[64] The books contain two masses: one for the *natale* and one for the vigil on the eve.

The Eighth-century Gelasian mass celebrated at the eve of the proper feast-day of Simon and Jude does not refer to the apocryphal *Passion of Simon and Jude* explicitly. Only the preface, which is similar to that in the supplement to the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*, mentions the pair's martyrdom. For the rest, the prayers, asking for intercession of the apostles and a worthy celebration of their feast, have no specific characteristics that link them to the acts and martyrdom of Simon and Jude.

The mass for the apostles' *natale* in the Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries, containing few or no direct references to the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, yet includes two important notions and is therefore rendered here in full:

> *V Kalendas nouembris. Natale apostulorum Symonis et Iudae*
>
> 1572 God, who has permitted us through your blessed apostles to come to the knowledge of your name: grant us to celebrate their eternal glory because of its benefit, and to profit from it by celebrating it. Through [Christ our Lord].[65]
>
> 1573 *Second prayer*: Almighty and eternal God, creator and leader of the world, who has consecrated the blessed apostles through the glory of your name: hear your people, praying to you under their protection, so that the gift of peace may perform increase of faith and love. Through our Lord.[66]
>
> 1574 *Offering prayer*: Anticipating the eternal glory, o Lord, of your apostles Simon and Jude, we beseech you that we, atoned by the holy mysteries, may the worthier celebrate that same glory. Through our Lord.[67]

---

[64] The main representatives of these masses are the *Sacramentarium Gellonense*, 1568–1571 and 1572–1578, Dumas and Deshusses (eds.), CCSL 159, pp. 204–205; *Sacramentarium Engolismense*, 1435–1438 and 1439–1444, Saint Roch (ed.), CCSL 159C, pp. 212–213; *Sacramentarium Augustodunense*, 971–974 and 975–980, Heiming (ed.), CCSL 159B, pp. 114–115; *Sacramentarium Sangallense*, 1283–1286 and 1287–1292, Mohlberg (ed.), *Das fränkische Sacramentarium*, pp. 197–198. The texts are presented here according to the *Gellonense*.

[65] *Deus qui nos per beatus [intell. beatos] apostolos tuos symonis et iudae ad cognitionem tui nominis uenire tribuisti, da nobis eorum gloriam sempiternam et proficiendo celebrare et celebrando proficere. Per.*

[66] *Item alia: Omnipotens sempiterne deus, mundi creator et rector, qui beatos apostolos nominis tui gloria consecrasti, exaudi populum tuum cum sanctorum tuorum tibi patrocinia supplicantem, ut pacis donum proficiat ad fidei et caritatis augmentum. Per.*

[67] *Secreta: Gloriam domine apostulorum Simonis et Judae perpetuam precurrentes, quaesumus ut eamdem sacris misteriis expiati, dignius celebremus. Per dominum.*

1575 It is truly worthy [that we praise you], eternal God, while we glorify you in the honour of your apostles, who has given eternal beatitude to them, and has presented such support to our weakness. Listen to their intercession on our behalf. Through Christ.[68]

1576 After communion. Now that we have received the sacraments, o Lord, we humbly ask you that what we carry out because of their venerable passion may provide us healing by the intercession of your blessed apostles Simon and Jude. Through our Lord.[69]

1577 Protect us, o Lord, we beseech you, lest we tumble down in our vices, and because we cannot abstain from them, mercifully free our conscience through the continuous intercession of the apostles. Through our Lord.[70]

1578 Hear us o God our salvation, and help us through the prayers of your apostles, through whose doctrine you have made us believe. Through our Lord.[71]

The first important aspect of this mass is the emphasis with which the commemoration of the apostles' martyrdom is presented. In the prayer after communion, the celebration of the sacrament of the eucharist in commemoration of the passion of the apostles is regarded as an instrument of atonement and (spiritual) healing. A second important idea is expressed in the first and the last prayer, where the apostles are presented as missionaries and teachers of the faith. In the first prayer, this comes to the fore in the acknowledgement that it is the apostles through whom the faithful have come to know the name of God. In this prayer, the faithful of Gellone (or Angoulême or the monks of Sankt Gallen or the other liturgical centres using this mass) equal themselves to the people of 1st-century Babylon or Suanir, by claiming that 'we have come to the knowledge of God's name through the blessed apostles Simon and Jude'. These Christian communities of the 8th century consider the apostles as the founding fathers of their faith. Through the liturgical commemoration of the Acts of the apostles, the past is presented anew, and as procuring salvation. In the

---

68 *UD Aeterne deus. Te in tuorum apostulorum Simonis et Judae glorificantes honore, qui et illis tribuisti beatitudinem sempiternam, et infirmitati nostrae talia praestetisti suffragia, quae audire possis pro nobis. Per Christum.*

69 *Post communionem. Perceptis domine sacramentis, suppliciter rogamus ut, intercedentibus beatis apostolis tuis, que pro illorum ueneranda gerimus passione, nobis proficiant ad medillam. Per.*

70 *Custodi nos domine quesumus, ne in uitiis proruamus et quia his carere non possumus, interuenientibus semper apostulis tuis, conscientiam nostram benignus absolue. per dominum.*

71 *Item. Exaudi nos deus salutaris noster, et apostulorum tuorum nos tuere praesidiis, quorum donasti fideles esse doctrinis. Per.*

final prayer of this mass, the same thing happens. The Christian faithful by whom this prayer is recited, regard themselves as direct pupils of the apostles: 'It is their (the apostles') doctrine that has given us (the 8th-century community of believers) faith'. The Christians in whose circle this prayer is used take as it were the place of the people converted and baptized by the apostles according to the *Passion of Simon and Jude*. The faithful define their community ultimately as a foundation of the apostles themselves. The commemoration of their acts and passion serves as a confirmation of this foundation here and now.

4.2. *Italy*

Milanese liturgy: sacramentaries of Biasca and Bergamo

In Italy outside Rome, Simon and Jude were celebrated in the liturgical traditions of the archbishoprics of Milan and Benevento. Among the books representing the liturgy of the see of Milan, celebrated in the North Italian region around the metropolis,[72] the sacramentaries of Biasca and Bergamo contain a mass in honour of this pair. The Masses are equal, and are composed of prayers stemming from the Eighth-century Gelasian tradition.[73] The first prayer is also found in the Eighth-century Gelasian vigil for Simon and Jude, whereas the second and third prayer, as well as the preface, correspond to the prayers in the Eighth-century Gelasian mass for the *natale* of the pair. Only the prayer *post communionem* lacks a Gelasian parallel. There are no references to the *Passion of Simon and Jude* apart from the obligatory and general mention of martyrdom.

Beneventan liturgy

In the liturgy of Benevento, the situation is not much different. The mass for the *natale* of Simon and Jude in the *Missale of Canosa* consists of three prayers, two of which also occur in the Eighth-century Gelasian tradition.[74] The purpose of this mass is obviously very much like the *Missa in natale* in the Eighth-century Gelasian tradition: the Christian

---

[72] King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, pp. 286–456.

[73] *Sacramentary of Biasca*, 1062–1066, Heiming (ed.), *Sakramentar von Biasca*, p. 156; *Sacramentary of Bergamo*, 1141–1145, Paredi (ed.), *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, p. 289.

[74] *Missale of Canosa*, 672–674, Rehle (ed.), *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa*, p. 150.

community of Benevento claims its apostolic origin by indicating Simon and Jude as their teachers in faith, who brought them to the knowledge of the Christian God. They hope for salvation as a reward for the faithful commemoration of the apostles' passion.

4.3. *Spain*

The liturgy of early medieval Spain, as usual, presents an entirely different picture. Whereas the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* does not include the feast-day of Simon and Jude, a set of prayers for the mass in honour of their *natale* is found in a manuscript containing some fragments of a *Liber misticus* or *mixtus*, the first compilation of separate liturgical books into a plenary service book.[75] The fragment, preserved in the Toledo Museum de los Concilios, is comprised of only 24 folios.[76] The source is very difficult to date.[77] Some have suggested the 13th century,[78] others claim the 9th.[79] According to Janini, the manuscript was written in Toledo, for use in the church of SS Justa and Rufina.[80] A handful of saints populates the sanctoral of this *Liber misticus*: John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Martin of Tours, and Simon and Jude. The mass for Peter and Paul is the only one that is integrally transmitted (including all antiphons) in the fragment.[81] The mass for Simon and Jude is not complete; Janini took the second half of the prayer *ad orationem domini* and the concluding *benedictio* from a later, printed source, the so-called *Missale Mixtum*, compiled by Cardinal Cisneros around 1500 on the basis of the Old Spanish manuscripts.[82]

---

[75] Pinell, 'Mozarabische liturgie', cols. 1802–1803.

[76] Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 2, pp. 303–318.

[77] J. Janini, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la catedral de Toledo* (Toledo, 1977), Appendix I, pp. 277–278; see also Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 2, p. 303, where Janini refers to studies of Mundó, Millares Carlo, Pinell and Gamber. My references are dependent on Janini's work.

[78] A.M. Mundó, 'La datación de los códices litúrgicos visigóticos toledanos', in *Hispania sacra* 18 (1965), pp. 11–12.

[79] A. Millares Carlo, *Manuscritos visigóticos* (Barcelona, 1963), n. 234, II; J. Pinell, 'Los textos de la antigua litúrgica hispánica', in J.F. Rivera Recio and L. Brou (eds.) *Estudios sobre la liturgia mozárabe* (Toledo, 1965), n. 123; K. Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, 1968–1988), n. 316.

[80] Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 2, p. 304.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Janini's edition of the fragment is found in Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, pp. 538–542. Cisneros's *Missale Mixtum* is edited by Migne in PL 85. This compilation is considered to be a 'sufficiently good and safe representative for working

The Old Spanish liturgy deviates from the other liturgical traditions in the medieval West in the dates chosen for the commemoration of Simon and Jude. Most of the 10th- and 11th-century manuscripts outside Toledo (viz. Silos, Compostella, Léon, Cordoba) give a *natale* of Simon and Jude on 1 July.[83] Moreover, two 11th-century manuscripts of Silos give a commemoration of Simon (without mention of Jude) on 19 October.[84] Janini, who edited the Toledan fragments of the mass for 19 October as *in natale Simonis et Judae*,[85] gives no explanation for this date, which does not occur in any of the other liturgical traditions commemorating the two apostles.

As far as content is concerned, the nine long prayers of the mass in commemoration of Simon and Jude make abundant use of the *Passion of Simon and Jude* as transmitted in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Many themes of this apocryphal narrative, summarized in section 2, recur in the liturgical prayers. The most conspicuous themes and the way they are incorporated in the liturgy of mass will be discussed in the following.

In the first prayer (1478), the apostles are presented as especially laudable because they shed their blood for the Lord.[86] But even if they had not suffered martyrdom, they would have been praisewor-

---

purposes of the missal in use in Spain in the 7th and even the 6th century' by Edmund Bishop. King, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, p. 519.

[83] Férotin (ed.), *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, p. xlix.

[84] Férotin (ed.), *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, p. lii. In a footnote, Férotin adds that a commemoration of Simon alone is included on 29 October on the Calendar of Cordoba.

[85] Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 538.

[86] 1478 *Sanctorum apostolorum et martyrum Symonis et Iude, carissimi fratres, sollemnia celebrantes, saluatori deo ac domino nostro exhibeamus sacrificium laudis, eique abdita pandamus cordis, simul et mentis, ut qui in eorum habetur auctor uictoria, dignetur se pium ostendere precibus nostris. Hi enim sunt carissimi, qui inter ceteros sanctorum aggeres in laudibus sunt habendi; et conloquiis domini ac saluatoris nostri honore precipue celebrandi, qui ⟨et⟩si pro domino non interiissent sanguine fuso, sollemnes haberentur domini sui doctrine documento. Sufficiens quippe erat illis, ad sanctitatis culmen ipsa frequens domini uisio, cum assiduo discipline documento. At cum illis inextimabilis et ineffabilis spiritus sanctus datur infusio, et ecclesiam primitiuam et instruunt, et corrigunt uerbo; excellentior habetur illorum et mirabilis gloria, et eorum letior et uegetatior sancta ecclesia suscipit incolenda sollemnia. Sed quantum ad rei magnitudinem et gratie gloriam spectat, parum est et dominum et magistrum suum corporaliter cernere, et eius doctrinis per orbem uniuersum mirabiliter fulgere. Quando usque adeo fidei gloria creuit, ut dulce fuerit pro eodem domino sanguinem fundere. Et quod pro uniuersis facere uiderint magistrum, hoc illi faciendo ceteris reliquerint faciendi exemplum. Sollicita igitur in eorum festiuitatibus conuenire debet fidelium toga, et cum studio compunctionis eorum celebrare sollemnia. Excitentur corda suspiriis, et mens illorum doctrinis hilarior compungatur in gaudiis. Ut qui tanta ualuerunt mirabiliter consequi, dignentur nobis iugiter adesse patroni. Et qui mirabiliter effecti sunt per Christi doctrinam, digne⟨n⟩tur meritis tueri aecclesiam. Amen.*

thy among the host of saints because of their conversation with Christ (*conloquiis domini*) and their teaching (*domini sui doctrine*). Just as the apostles imitated Christ, their martyrdom is an example for the faithful to imitate (*Quando usque adeo fidei gloria creuit, ut dulce fuerit pro eodem domino sanguinem fundere. Et quod pro uniuersis facere uiderint magistrum, hoc illi faciendo ceteris reliquerint faciendi exemplum*). Their teaching, however, is a cause of great joy (*et mens illorum doctrinis hilarior compungatur in gaudiis*). Therefore, the faithful celebrate the commemoration of their worthy patrons.

The second prayer (1479) centres likewise on the apostles as martyrs and teachers, but the notion of martyrdom seems to play a subsidiary part.[87] The glory of martyrdom is praised and considered as the reward for which the faithful long. The power of the apostolic preaching, however, is the strength through which the church thrives until this day; it is the support through which the church perseveres, the splendour that enlightens the church like sun and moon, and the helm through which the apostles guide the church as a ship at sea. Their teaching is addressed to the church in all its ranks: kings and sinners, virgins and clergy. It is interesting to see how the author of this prayer plays with the images of sun and moon. In the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, the apostles are depicted as fighting the cult of sun and moon as if these creatures were gods. In the liturgical prayer, the image of sun and moon is radically turned into a positive image: the church itself shines like sun and moon through the apostolic teaching (*Doceant nos normam tenere iustitiae, quorum predicationibus fulget aecclesia ut sol et luna*).

The prayer *post nomina* (1480), following the recitation of the names of the faithful, is important because it deals with the apostles' power over demons (*demonia*) and hell (*erebi*).[88] The story of the expulsion of demons

---

[87] 1479 *Alia. Magister omnium apostolorum et ducator aecclesiae, Christe: conuenientibus nobis in honore⟨m⟩ sanctorum tuorum apostolorum et martyrum Symonis et Iudae, propitius adesse dignare. Fac nos eorum doctrinae sequaces, fac amabiles, fac et docibiles, ut ab eis non inueniamur extorres, quos fidei scimus egregios ducatores. Habeat cum illis spes nostra gloriae premium, qui postquam magistri doctrina ful⟨g⟩serunt, meruerunt obtinere martyrium. Fulgeat ecclesia illorum doctrina, quorum in illa habetur predicatio gloriosa. Adsint miseris nobis in omnibus adiutores, qui aecclesiae mirabiles extiterunt doctores. Doceant nos normam tenere iustitiae, quorum predicationibus fulget aecclesia ut sol et luna. Erigant lapsos ad penitentiam, qui eximii facti sunt per doctrinam. Impetrent peccatoribus scelerum ueniam, qui doctrinis fundauerunt aecclesiam. Conferant regibus modestiam, uirginibus perseuerantiam, clericis disciplinam, laicis continentiam, certantibus in fide constantiam, qui quasi in mari nauem predicationibus gubernant aecclesiam. Ut qui illorum uictoriis excitati, eorum sollemnia celebramus, eorum meritis a criminibus absoluti, ad te post transitum ueniamus. Amen.*

[88] 1480 *Post nomina. Fidelis, domine, in uerbis tuis, et sancte in omnibus operibus tuis: occure nobis pius, sanctorum tuorum Symonis et Iudae apostolorum sollemnia celebrantibus. Et qui illis dedisti potestatem eiciendi demonia per spiritum sanctum, tribue nobis ad te semper habere cor mundum et*

derived from the *Passion of Simon and Jude* is parallelled with the spiritual purification of the faithful (*Et qui illis dedisti potestatem eiciendi demonia per spiritum sanctum, tribue nobis ad te semper habere cor mundum et spiritum rectum*). This idea is worked out further in the last two prayers of this mass, to be discussed below.

The prayer *ad pacem* (1481), accompanying the kiss of peace, opposes the transitory peace provided by the world (cfr John 14:27) to the lasting peace rooted in the divine commandments.[89] Likewise it opposes peace to hostility. Both comparisons recall the teaching of Simon and Jude where they, according to the *Passion*, proclaim the Christian doctrine to reward evil with good and to love one's enemies.[90] Yet the names of the apostles are not mentioned and no explicit reference to the *Passion* is found. This in contrast to the prayers *ad pacem* in the Spanish masses for Bartholomew, James, and Matthew, discussed in the previous chapters, where a direct relation is presented between the general call to true peace, often present in the prayer *ad pacem* in the liturgy of early medieval Spain and Gaul, and the particular acts of the apostle concerned. It is remarkable that a direct link with the *Passion* is omitted here where the relation is so obvious.

The *inlatio* (1482), or prayer of offering, is the heart of the Old Spanish eucharistic prayer. In the case of the feast-day of Simon and Jude, it lists the most important themes of their acts and martyrdom, the object of this day's commemoration. The first remarkable trait of this prayer is the emphasis on the apostles' office of preaching. The importance of this task already at the moment of the election of the apostles is expressed in the first section of the prayer:

---

spiritum rectum. Detur abs te uiuentibus amor iustitiae, et defunctis post euasionem erebi sessio beatae uitae. Qui in temporali permanent uita, illorum corrigantur doctrinis, et qui iam exuti sunt carne, illorum meritis mereantur annumerari cum sanctis. Amen.

[89] 1481 *Ad pacem. Pax indeficiens Christe, et origo dulcedinis, qui pacem tuam tuis tradidisti discipulis: dignare hanc plenissimam effundere pectoribus nostris, ut non sicut mundus dat pacem, pacifici conuersantes, mandata tua aut per odium aut per obliuionem relinquamus, sed in dilectione dei et proximi radicati, in obseruatione mandatorum tuorum mereamur inueniri perfecti, ut pacis osculum inter nos decurrens, nos pacificos reddat, et per pacem ad te uenire sine crimine faciat. Dulcedo pacis odii in nobis amaritudinem uincat, et caritas multitudinem peccatorum operiat, ut pax tua, que tu ipse es, exuperans omnem sensum, totius simultatis in nobis perimat uitium, et timorem foris mittentis caritatis conferat gaudium. Ut precibus apostolorum tuorum et martyrum in pace perenniter custoditi, per pacis concordiam habeamur beati. Amen.*

[90] Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 11; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 615–616.

> And when he chose his disciples as the holy apostles to the office of preaching, he taught them patiently and humbly, and he showed them a rule of suffering by enduring the iniquities of the unbelievers.[91]

At the same time, this quotation makes clear that preaching and martyrdom belong together, and have belonged together from the very beginning of the apostles' calling. This is confirmed by the following sentence:

> And among these there are the two whose feast we celebrate, the holy Simon and Jude, who are found both truly learned by their teachings, and remarkable and perfect by the virtues of their suffering.[92]

A second crucial theme is the apostles' dealing with demons. This is formulated as a complex paradox, playing with the theme of the apostles' preaching and the demons' inability to speak. Simon and Jude silence the demons and their hopeless predictions concerning the war with the Indians with their word (*Qui uerbo demones ligant*) and preach their message of the love of Christ instead. However, the latter is said to be inexpressible by human tongue, although Christ's disciples are urged to speak about it.

A third major theme in the prayer where the *Passion* is used as a source, is the apostles' rejection of earthly riches in response to Varardach's wish to reward them once the peace with the Indians is settled:[93]

> They were rich in heaven and despised earthly goods and the richess of earthly possession. And they, poor in spirit and [therefore] blessed (cfr Mt. 5:3), suggested to distribute these among the poor.[94]

Simon and Jude are presented as models for the correct Christian way of life—chosen out of the world as if they did not know the world:

> Behold these our holy apostles Simon and Jude, chosen from the world, go through the world but as if they do not know the world, and searching for the necessities of life with their nets and merchandise, they despise the

---

[91] *Qui sanctos apostolos discipulos suos ad predicationis officium eligens, patienter et humiliter docuit, eisque sustinendo iniurias perfidorum, patiendi normam monstrauit.*

[92] *E quibus sunt isti, quorum festa celebramus, sancti Symon et Iudas, qui et doctrinis ueraciter sunt edocti, et patientiae uirtutibus mirabiles inuenti sunt et perfecti.*

[93] *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 12; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 617.

[94] *Qui caelo iam diuites terrenas et terrenorum diuitias spernunt, et spiritu pauperes et beati has pauperibus distribui suggerunt.*

> richess that are handed over to them, and they choose not to be rich men in this temporary world, but to become poor.[95]

The prayers *post sanctus* (1483), following the sung *Sanctus*, and *post pridie* (1484), following the institution narrative, are of little interest to the present investigation, because they are hardly specific and deal more with the eucharistic rite they accompany than with the feast-day of Simon and Jude.

Halfway the prayer *ad orationem dominicam*, introducing the *Pater Noster* (1485), the mass in the manuscript fragment breaks off.[96] This results in an unfinished yet interesting thought where a process of interiorization of the apostles' example is expressed. The unfinished piece goes as follows:

> *Omnis conuentus aeclesiae, qui tolerantiam et uirtutem sanctorum apostolorum et martyrum Symonis et Iude audistis, mentis oculos mecum in intima ducite*, …

> Entire congregation of the church, having heard the forbearance and the virtue of the holy apostles and martyrs Simon and Jude, turn the eyes of your mind with me into the inner secrets, …

The celebrant, present in the first person singular in the prayer, invites the faithful to join him and turn the eye inside towards the 'inner secrets' of what is mentioned before as the apostles' rejection of worldly goods. The prayer thus attempts to bring about a spiritualization of the example set by the apostles for the benefit of the faithful present then and there. Thus this text offers beautiful material with respect to the question of the 'interiorization' of the fight against threats of the mundane world, comparable to the transformation of the demons in Bartholomew's passion into spiritual and (sometimes) individualized inner sin already examined in chapter 2. This will be further discussed in chapter 6.

---

95 *Ecce isti nostri apostoli sancti Symon et Iudas electi de mundo, in mundum, quasi mundum non nouerint, currunt, et necessaria uitae retibus et mercimoniis requirentes, traditas sibi diuitias spernunt, et non temporaliter diuites, sed pauperes fieri eligunt.*

96 1485 *Ad orationem Dominicam. Omnis conuentus aeclesiae, qui tolerantiam et uirtutem sanctorum apostolorum et martyrum Symonis et Iude audistis, mentis oculos mecum in intima ducite, ⟨et quid contemptus mundi ualeat, pie perpendite. Ecce diuitie dantur et respuuntur, ecce uindicandi de persecutoribus licentia conceditur, et contemnitur. Et hinc est quod demonibus imperandi facultas et finitur et obtinetur. Non alias namque diabolus uincitur, quam cum mundus cum suis opibus temnitur. Respuamus igitur temporalia, ut deuicto diabolo premia possimus perfrui sempiterna. Et orationem quam nos docuit habitator in celis, libere possimus clamare e terris: Pater noster qui es⟩*. The part between brackets is lacking in the FrJ, and is added by Janini from Cisneros's compilation known as the *Missale Mixtum*, PL 85, col. 891.

4.4. *England*

In early medieval England, the earliest source witnessing the spread of the cult of Simon and Jude to this part of the world is the *Canterbury Benedictional*. It contains an episcopal blessing for the feast-day of Simon and Jude, and a separate blessing for the apostle Jude. In fact, the first text entitled *in natale sancti Simonis et Iudae* likewise concentrates on only one of the pair: Simon. This text follows here first:

> Blessing for the feast-day of Simon and Jude
>
> God, who loves among the children of man every spiritual beauty, may through the help of the apostle Simon nourish in you the delightful sweetness of virtues. Amen.
>
> May he make you glow as living and precious stones, who has made the holy apostle Simon enter heaven through martyrdom. Amen.
>
> And may he, who has given him eternal glory, give forgiveness of sins, and the victory over every enemy. Amen.
>
> May he deign to grant this ...[97]

In this text, the only relevant link to the *Passion of Simon and Jude* is the reference to Simon's martyrdom, but no specific elements of the acts of these two apostles are added.

The text for Jude does not mention the apostle's martyrdom, but refers to his preaching and his power over demons and evil, particularly the second part of the blessing:

> Blessing on the same day concerning the holy apostle Jude
>
> The glorious apostle of the Lord Jude may be an eager intercessor for you, so that the cult of your devotion may be fruitful in God's eyes. Amen.
>
> And the prayers of him, whose apostolic voice went out through all the earth (*et cuius in omnem terram exiuit sonus apostolicus*), may protect you, so that the diabolic evil may overthrow you by no means. Amen.

[97] *Benedictio in natale sancti Simonis et Iudae. Deus qui in filiis hominum omnem spiritualem diligit pulchritudinem, sancto simone apostolo opitulante delectabilem in uobis uirtutum enutriat dulcedinem. Amen. / Tamquam lapides uiuos et electos uos faciat rutilare, qui sanctum symonem apostolum per martirium fecit caelos intrare. Amen. / Et qui ei perhennem prestitit gloriam, uobis prestet ueniam, et de omni hoste uictoriam. Amen. / Quod ipse prestare dignetur.* Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 114.

> May our faithful blessing and his true intercession be a protection for you in all necessity. Amen.
>
> May he deign to grant this ...[98]

The episcopal blessings in the *Canterbury Benedictional* do not go into much detail of the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, but this latter text quotes another liturgical text. The antiphon *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum* is an element of the common office for apostles.[99] It is quoted more often in texts belonging to the liturgy of mass in commemoration of apostles, for instance in the *inlatio* of the old Spanish mass for Bartholomew: *Unde in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terre uerba illorum* (LMS 843).[100] In the following section, the liturgy of the hours in commemoration of the apostles Simon and Jude will be discussed.

5. *The liturgy of the hours*

In his collection of the oldest material for the liturgy of the hours in cathedral and monastic usage, René Hesbert does not include any material for the commemoration of Simon and Jude.[101] An office for the feast-day of these saints is found, however, in two other Italian antiphonals, one dating to the 12th century (Florence) and one to the early 13th century (Aosta).[102] The *Florence Antiphonal* of the 12th century was in use in Florence Cathedral and therefore represents the secular

---

98 *Benedictio eodem die de sancto Iuda apostolo. Apostolus domini Iudas gloriosus interuentor pro uobis sit studiosus, quatinus sanctitatis uestrae cultus apud deum fiat fructuosus. Amen. / Et cuius in omnem terram exiuit sonus apostolicus, suis uos muniat precibus, ut nullo modo uos supplantet error diabolicus. Amen. / Nostra benedictio eiusque interuentio uobis fidelissima in omni necessitate fiat protectio. Amen. / Quod ipse prestare dignetur.* Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 114.

99 Hesbert, CAO, vol. 4, p. 490.

100 Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 299.

101 To be sure, the *Antiphonal of Ivrea* contains the proper office for these apostles' feast-day on a flyleaf, but unfortunately, and for reasons that are not entirely clear to me, Hesbert did not edit this page in his collection. Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, p. xxi: 'Tout à la fin du manuscrit, le folio 81, servant de feuille de garde, a été utilisé au recto pour transcrire, non plus en deux colonnes mais à longues lignes, l'Office propre des saints Simon et Jude'.

102 Firenze, Arcivescovado-Biblioteca, s.c., saec. XII, f. 184^{r}–184^{v}; Aosta, Biblioteca del seminario maggiore, 6; saec. XIII^{inc}, f. 105^{r}–106^{v}. For a short description of the manuscripts, I consulted the online Cantus database: http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/aboutms1.html#firenze and http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/aboutms1.html#aosta6 (08-02-2007). Here I express my thanks to Hill Museum and Manuscript Library for sending me photos of the Florence manuscripts, as well as to Debra Lacoste

cursus. It contains an office for the apostles Simon and Jude, but with a set of chants for only one liturgical hour, not further specified but presumably the first Vespers on the eve of the feast-day. The 13th-century *Antiphonal of Aosta*, in contrast, in use in the collegiate church of Sant'Orso and likewise representing secular usage, contains the chants for the night Vigil and Lauds. In order to get a clear picture of the use of the *Passion of Simon and Jude* in the secular office of these saints in Florence and Aosta, and also because the texts are not available in printed editions, a full rendering of the offices with translation follows below.

5.1. *The* Antiphonal of Florence

The *Antiphonal of Florence* does not indicate the liturgical hour for which the chants (five antiphons for the psalms, a verse and the antiphon for the canticum) are intended. Because of the number of antiphons, it is most likely that they are meant for first Vespers, the festive entry to the feast on the eve.

> When Simon Cananeus and Jude the Zelote had entered the land of the Persians through a revelation of the holy Spirit they did not cease to preach the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Glory be to the Father ...[103]
>
> ANT. Simon Zelotes was first called Cananeus, burning with zeal for God. He was Peter's namesake and equal to him in honour. Glory be to the Father ...[104]
>
> ANT. He received the reign over Egypt and he is said to have held the chair of Jerusalem after James the Just. Glory be to the Father ...[105]

---

of CANTUS database for Latin ecclesiastical chant for sending me photos of the Aosta manuscript.

103 *Symon itaque chananeus et Iudas Zelotes cum per reuelationem spiritus sancti regionem persidam fuissent ingressi nomen domini Ihesu Christi non cessabant predicari. Euouae.* Freely according to the *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 7, Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 608. The abbreviation EUOUAE (the vowels of the words *seculorum amen*) occurs frequently in liturgical manuscripts and stands for the doxology that concludes each psalm: *Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto, sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula* saeculorum amen. The vowels are accompanied by musical notation to indicate the melody of the psalm in question.

104 ANT. *Symon zelotes primus dictus est chananeus, zelo dei feruens; par in cognomento petri et similis in honore. Euouae.* Cfr *Breviarium Apostolorum*, discussed above.

105 ANT. *Hic accepit principatum Egypti et post iustum Iacobum tenuisse dicitur cathedram ihero-solimorum. Euouae.* Idem.

ANT. But after 120 years, he was worthy to come to the Lord through the passion of martyrdom under Hadrian. Glory be to the Father ...[106]

ANT. And there the holy apostles went, rejoicing in the face of the gathering, because they were held worthy to suffer disgrace for the name of Jesus. Glory be to the Father ...[107]

VERS. *Constitues eos*.[108]

But wherever the apostles entered, they exposed the deeds of the magicians and showed that the latter's doctrine had been invented by the enemy of humankind.[109]

ANT. The apostles however were joyful and happy, and they gave thanks to God since they were considered worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. Let them pray for us to the Lord Jesus Christ.[110]

This set of chants is of particular interest because it consists solely of *proprium* texts, composed especially for the celebration of Simon and Jude. All antiphons are composed with material taken from the legends that circulated about Simon and Jude, transmitted to the Latin world either through apostle lists and martyrologies or the Latin *Passion of Simon and Jude* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. Only the versicle is taken from the *Commune apostolorum*. However, even this text, a quotation of the canonical Acts of the apostles, 5:41, is used in the *Passion of Simon and Jude* as well, in a paraphrase which expresses the joy of the apostles Simon and Jude that they are deemed worthy to suffer martyrdom in the name of Christ. This passage of the Passion is used in the final antiphon of the Florence office. The penultimate antiphon is also a quotation from the Passion. Likewise, the first chant is also based on the Passion, referring to its first lines. The cognomen *Zelotes* added

[106] ANT. *Post annos autem centum uiginti meruit sub Adriano per martyrii passionem peruenire ad dominum. Euouae*. Idem.

[107] ANT. *Sancti itaque apostoli ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Ihesu contumeliam pati. Euouae*. Cfr Acts 5:41.

[108] = *Constitues eos principes super omnem terram—memores erunt nominis tui domine*. Commune apostolorum (common office for the apostles); Hesbert, CAO no. 7994, vol. 4, p. 480.

[109] *Apostoli ergo ubicumque fuissent ingressi detegebant facta magorum et ostendebant doctrinam illorum ab inimico humano generi esse adinuenta. Euouae*. Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 20, Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 629.

[110] ANT. *Erant autem apostoli gaudentes et alacres deo gratias agentes quia digni habiti sunt pro nomine Ihesu pati ipsi intercedant pro nobis ad dominum Ihesum Christum*. Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 23. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 634. The first sentence is based on Acts 5:41.

to Jude's name seems to be a confusion of Jude with Simon.[111] The second, third, fourth, and fifth antiphons choose an entirely different trace, following the tradition represented by the *Breviarium apostolorum*. The office texts are all direct quotations from this source, including Simon's episcopate in Egypt and Jerusalem. It is clear that the related but slightly deviant traditions, represented by Isidore or one of the 9th-century martyrologies, are not chosen as source texts. In these chants of the office, Simon's mate Jude is not mentioned.

In sum, the Florence office for Simon and Jude combines two traditions about the pair of apostles: one represented by the *Passion of Simon and Jude* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, and the one of the apostle lists, more specifically the *Breviarium apostolorum*. A very different picture emerges from the office in the *Aosta Antiphonal*, as will become clear in the following.

5.2. *The* Antiphonal of Aosta

In contrast with the *Antiphonal of Florence*, the *Aosta Antiphonal* comprises chants not only for the office of the first Vespers on the eve of the feast-day but also for the night vigil, and the Lauds directly following. The office starts with the Magnificat antiphon for the first Vespers, and then follows with the night office. An invitatory is followed by the three antiphons and three responsories for the three nocturns. Then follow the five antiphons for the psalms of Lauds and the antiphon for the canticum: the *Benedictus* or the *Benedicite*.

> On the apostles Simon and Jude
>
> ANT. [to the *Magnificat*] This is the feast of the holy Simon and Jude, whom Christ has crowned with the grace of the apostolate and the palm of martyrdom. Glory be to the Father …[112]
>
> *Invitatory*
>
> Let us sing with psalms to the king of the apostles.
>
> Ps. Come let us rejoice [Ps. 94][113]

[111] Cfr Peretto, 'Giuda Taddeo', col. 1152; J. Baudot, *Vie des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier avec l'historique des fêtes* (Paris, 1952), vol. X, p. 933; see also the edition of Nausea (ed.), *Anonymi Philalethi*, f. LXVI verso.

[112] *De apostolis Symone et Iuda*. ANT [*ad Magnificat*]. *Adest sollempnitas sanctorum Symonis et Iude quos apostolatus gracia et martyrii palma Christus coronauit. Euoue*. A later hand added *Ad magnificat*.

[113] INVITATORIUM. [ant] *Apostolorum regi in psalmis iubilemus*. *PS Venite exultemus*.

The first nocturn

ANT. When the apostles of Christ were led to the reign of the Persians by a revelation of the holy Spirit, their sound has gone out. Glory be to the Father … [Ps. 18][114]

ANT. There they cried to the Lord, weary because of the shrewdness of the magicians, and he took heed of them. Glory be to the Father … [Ps. 33][115]

ANT. [The apostle[s]] hastened to proclaim the good word from the purity of their heart against the lies of the magicians. Glory be to the Father … [Ps. 44][116]

RESP. When the most blessed apostles Simon and Jude were asked by the general of the king of Babylon who they were, they answered that they were servants of God.

V. If you ask for our origin: we are Israelites.

They answered …[117]

RESP. But the apostles reassured the general when he was worried about the war by predicting the approaching peace.

V. For the morrow will bring peace from the side of the Indians.

By predicting …[118]

RESP. Rewarding evil with good the apostles freed their accusers from death by calling upon the general [on their behalf].

---

[114] IN PRIMO NOCTURNO. ANT. *Apostolis Christi spiritu sancto reuelante monitis in regna Persarum exiuit sonus eorum. Euoue. [Ps. Caeli enarrant]* In the right margin next to the three antiphons of the first nocturn, the incipits of the psalms sung in the first vigil are added in a contemporary hand. In the second and third nocturn, the incipits of the psalms are given in the text itself. Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 7, Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 608.

[115] ANT. *Ibi magorum uersutia fatigati clamauerunt ad dominum et exaudiuit eos. Euoue. [Ps. Benedicam].*

[116] ANT. *Contra magorum mendatia de puris cordibus eructuare uerbum bonum festinabat. Euoue.* [Ps. *Eructauit cor meum*]. The singular form *festinabat* is strange, given the plural form of *de puris cordibus*.

[117] RESP. *Beatissimi Symon et Iudas apostoli a duce regis Babilonie [105v] interrogati qui essent seruos se dei esse responderunt. / VERS. Si genus inquiris nostrum sumus Israhelite. Seruos*… Cfr *Passio Simonis et Iudae*, c. 8, which gives *Hebraei sumus*. *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 5; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 611.

[118] RESP. *Apostoli uero ducem de bello sollicitum pacem futuram predicendo reddiderunt securum.* VERS. *Crastina namque dies pacem reddet ab Indis. Pacem*… *ducem* is corrected from *decem*, above the line (contemporary correction). Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 9; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 613: *Nam crastina die … venient ad te*….

V. Our master has taught us to be forgiving.

Freed their accusers …[119]

The second nocturn

ANT. The apostles were given power over the skills of the godless, and God submitted the peoples and the pagans to their feet. [Ps. 46][120]

ANT. They despised the treasures of this world out of love for God, who gives his inheritance to those who fear his name. [Ps. 60][121]

ANT. They pronounced the good work of God by performing many miracles, and the king of Babylon understood God's deeds. [Ps. 63][122]

RESP. A certain woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son and the crime of unchastity in the deacon Eufrosinus was [examined] by the apostles.

V. He was a holy and prudent [and chaste] man.[123]

RESP. By order of the apostles the infant said: 'The deacon is a holy man, and he has never defiled his body'.

V. The infant, born on that same day, [spoke].

The deacon …[124]

RESP. A friend of the king, Nicaron, was wounded by an arrow, and he was immediately healed by the apostles with one word.

V. For nobody could remove the arrow from the wound.

And he was healed …[125]

---

119 RESP. *Bona pro malis reddentes apostoli accusatores suos ducem precando de morte liberabant.* VERS. *Nos docuit noster pacientes esse magister. Accusatores…* Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 11; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 615–616.

120 IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO. ANT. *Data est potestas apostolis super facultates prophanorum et subiecit Deus populos et gentes pedibus eorum. PS. Omnes gentes.*

121 ANT. *Thesauros mundi contempserunt amore Dei qui dat hereditatem timentibus nomen suum. PS. Exaudi domine deprecationem.* Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 12; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 616–618.

122 ANT. *Multa facientes miracula annuntiauerunt opera Dei et facta eius intellexit rex Babilonie. PS. Exaudi deus orationem cum deprecor.* Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 18; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 625.

123 RESP. *Mulier quaedam concepit et filium peperit et crimen incesti Eufrosino apostolorum diacone* [?] … *batur.* VERS. *Ille fuit sanctus prudens et* [?] R. [?] … *batur.* Both response and verse are very difficult to read. I partly reconstructed the content with the help of *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 18; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 625–626.

124 RESP. *Apostolis iubentibus infans dicebat: [106^{r}] 'Diaconus uir sanctus est et numquam inquinauit carnem suam'.* VERS. *Infans eadem die progenitus dixit [?] Diaconus…* Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 18; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 626.

125 RESP. *Amicus regis Nicanor [Nicaron] a sagitta uulneratus ab apostolis mox uerbo sanabatur.*

The third nocturn

ANT. O ineffable men, on whose voice the tigresses are terrified, for God shall lift up the horns of the righteous. [Ps. 74][126]

ANT. The king was baptized in the name of the Lord, and all the people saw the glory of God. [Ps. 96][127]

ANT. Going through the cities the apostles preached Christ and they kept the testimonies and precepts which God had given them. [Ps. 98][128]

RESP. But the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat urged the priests that they compelled the apostles to sacrifice to the gods.

V. The magicians went on to say to the people.

That they compelled ...[129]

RESP. Jude said to Simon: 'My brother Simon, I see the Lord Jesus [...]'. And he answered: 'I see him also'.

V. The angel [of the Lord] is with us [...].[130]

RESP. ... had come out of the statues, they broke the idols and immediately the apostles were killed by the godless for the name of Jesus.

V. We must rejoice because of the gift of this feast.

The apostles ...[131]

VERS. *Nullus enim potuit de plaga auferre sagittam. Ab apostolis*... The passage on the king's friend Nicaron is only found in the *Passion of Simon and Jude* in the version of the 9th-century manuscript of Saint-Aubin, now Angers 281. *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 25; cfr Alibert et al. (trans.), 'Passion de Simon et Jude', p. 857 and footnote. It is not included in the edition of Fabricius, but it is included by Nausea (f. lxxii).

126 IN TERTIO NOCTURNO. ANT. *O uires ineffabiles ad quorum uocem tygrides tremefacte sunt nam cornua iustorum exaltabit deus.* PS. *Confitebimur*. Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 19; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 626–627.

127 ANT. *In nomine domini rex baptizatus est et uiderunt omnes populi gloriam dei.* PS. *Dominus regnauit*. Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 19; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 628.

128 ANT. *Euntes apostoli per ciuitates predicabant Christum et custodiebant testimonia et precepta que dedit illis deus*. PS. *Dominus regnauit.* Cfr *Passio Simonis et Iudae*, c. 20, Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 628.

129 RESP. *Magi uero Zaroes et Aphasar excitauerunt pontifices ut conpellerent apostolos ydolis sacrificare*. VERS. *Precedendo magi ceperunt dicere plebi. Ut conpellerent*... Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 20; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 630–631.

130 RESP. *Dixit Iudas ad Symonem: Frater Symon uideo dominum Jesum ... ...e. Respondit et ego illum uideo*. VERS. *Angelus ... nobiscum*... ... The second part of the response and the verse are very difficult to read. Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 22; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 632.

131 RESP. *S... [106v] ... e statuis egressi simulachra confregerunt et statim a prophanis pro nomine Jesu interfecti sunt apostoli*. VERS. *Gaudendum est nobis ex huius munere festi. Pro nomine*... Cfr *Passio Simonis et Iudae*, c. 22, Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 633–634.

Glory be to the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit.[132]

Lauds

ANT. Let us praise the Lord who has glorified his apostles, showing his miracles to the nations. Glory be to the Father ...[133]

ANT. There was a heavy trembling of the earth and also the temple split at one flesh of lightning. Glory be to the Father ...[134]

ANT. At the same time the magicians we mentioned before were struck with lightning and reduced to charcoals. Glory be to the Father ...[135]

ANT. The king transferred the bodies of the saints to his city and he built a church for them, a remarkable piece of work. Glory be to the Father ...[136]

ANT. The Persians praised Christ.[137]

ANT. God shall give the blessings of his miracles through the merits of the apostles: healing to the sick and forgiveness to the penitents. Glory be to the Father ...[138]

[Ps.]

Glory be to the Father ...[139]

The chants of the Aosta office of Simon and Jude follow the Passion of these twin martyrs very closely. Similar to the case of Bartholomew, the office chants tell in their own way the story of the apostles' acts, mission, and martyrdom.

The chant for the *Magnificat* of first Vespers functions as an introduction to the feast: the solemn commemoration of the apostles Simon and

---

132 *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.*

133 IN LAUDIBUS. ANT. *Laudemus dominum qui apostolos glorificauit suos prebens populis mirabilia. Euouae. Sancto.*

134 ANT. *Terre motus factus est magnus et templum scissum [et] ab ictu choruscationis. Euouae.* [*et*] was added superscript by the same hand. Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 23; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 635; cfr Mt. 27:51.

135 ANT. *Eadem hora magi quos prediximus fulmine percussi redacti sunt in carbones. Euouae.* Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 23; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 635.

136 ANT. *Corpora sanctorum rex in suam transtulit ciuitatem et miri operis eclesiam fabricauit illis. Euouae.* Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 23; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 635.

137 ANT. *Gentes Persarum laudabant Christum.*

138 ANT. *Ad benedictus* [or: *Ad Benedicite*]. *Beneficia miraculorum prestabit Deus per merita apostolorum sanitatem languentibus, ueniam penitentibus. Euouae.* Cfr *Passio Simonis et Judae*, c. 23; Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 636.

139 *Dominum. Euouae.*

Jude, crowned with the palm of martyrdom. This chant sets the tone for the commemoration of the apostles as martyrs.

Then, in the first nocturn, the first episode of the apostles' encounter with the magicians in the land of the Persians is sketched. Emphasis is on the divine help by which the apostles are supported in their combat with the magicians and their proclamation of truth against the lies of the sorcerers. The latter is made concrete in the apostles' prediction of peace at the moment the Indians threaten to attack the army of the Persians. This prediction, however, is not made before the apostles have revealed their identity. Asked for their origin by the commander-in-chief of the king of Babylon, Varardach, they make themselves known as 'Israelites': *sumus Israhelite*. At the same time they formulate their 'Christian' identity as the commission to reward evil with good. By preventing the punishment of their opponents when the latter's prediction of war with the Indians turns out to be false, they act according to their preaching.

The first antiphon of the second nocturn describes the triumph of the apostles over the powers of the magicians. In the second antiphon, a further parallel to the office of the apostle Bartholomew is found, namely where the apostles' refusal of all material reward, offered by the commander Varardach, is commemorated. The remaining chants of the second nocturn concentrate on various miraculous acts of the apostles, such as the newborn discharging the deacon Eufrosinus, mentioned by name, and the healing of the king's friend Nicaron, wounded by an arrow.

The third nocturn first pursues the praise of miracles. The apostles' power over two tigresses is commemorated. Then the conversion of the king of Babylon and his people is recited, followed by the apostles' preaching in the land of the Persians outside Babylon. The responsories in the third nocturn recount the final combat between the apostles and the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat, as well as the latter's attempt to set the priests of the local religion against the apostles who are forced to sacrifice to the gods. The cult of sun and moon is not explicitly mentioned in the office chants, but the manifestation of Christ to the apostles just before their martyrdom is. The breaking of the pagan statues is immediately followed by the apostles' martyrdom.

The chants of Lauds are immediately connected to the chants of the preceding night office. The story is continued without interruption: the earthquake at the apostles' demise and the demolition of the temple parallel the apostles' death to the moment of Christ's dying on the cross

(Mt. 27:51). The carbonizing of the magicians follows, and in the final antiphon of the *Laudes* the translation of the apostles' bodily remains into the new church built by the king in his city is commemorated. Although the chant does not render the details of this fabric, as the Passion does, it is described as 'a remarkable piece of work'. Finally, the antiphon to the canticum of the *Laudes*, the *Benedictus*, functions as a summary of the feast-day, and announces the divine blessings expected by those who praise the merits of these apostles: healing for those who are ill and forgiveness to those who do penance.

The office for the apostles Simon and Jude in the *Antiphonal of Aosta* is a fine example of the close connection between liturgical text and legendary tradition. The office follows the *Passion of Simon and Jude* very closely, quoting the narrative source directly in almost all chants, complemented with a few general texts which serve as comments to the specific story of the apostles. The office of the *Aosta Antiphonal* draws solely from the *Passion* in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, ignoring the traditions represented by the lists of the apostles and martyrologies. In this, the Aosta office differs clearly from the Florence office discussed above. At the same time, the Aosta office presents a picture very similar to the office for Bartholomew in the *Antiphonal of Ivrea*, likewise of North Italian origin.

All in all, the liturgy of the hours for the apostles Simon and Jude turns out to be a rich source of apocryphal influences on the liturgy. A different picture is provided by the hymns in honour of Simon and Jude, discussed in the following section.

6. *Hymns*

The collection of medieval hymns *Analecta Hymnica* contains only few texts for the commemoration of Simon and Jude. For the period before the 13th century, two texts, both of North Italian origin, are transmitted, to be discussed in the following.

6.1. Omne genus monochordi

The first hymn in honour of Simon and Jude is a hymn of which the author is known. We are dealing here with the 11th-century monk Wido of Ivrea. Wido wrote a confined number of hymns which he added, together with a secular love-song, to the psalter of Warmund, a codex

of the Chapter library of Ivrea. Among these hymns is the text *Omne genus monochordi* for the feast-day of Simon and Jude:[140]

1. Let all kinds of single stringed instrument
with harmonious voice praise
Jude as well as Simon,[141]
who suffered so much for God.[142]

2. They live, though dead according to the flesh,
they were made judges of the world,
they embellish heaven in triumph,
carrying the palm of martyrdom in their hands.[143]

3. May they have mercy upon us, we pray,
may the most high king grant this,
who arranges everything that exists:
the heaven, the earth, the movement of the sea.[144]

4. The highness of the most sublime father,
the fullness of his son
and the prayer of the holy Spirit
may elevate us from the impurity of the flesh.[145]

It is a short hymn consisting of four stanzas with four lines each, and it does not relate to the *Passion of Simon and Jude* in a very poignant way. The apostles' martyrdom is mentioned, most specifically in the second stanza, but only indirectly and implicitly via general images such as the mortification of the body (*carne vivunt interfecti*), the apostles' triumphant inhabitation of heaven (*caelum ornant triumphantes*) and their possession of the palm of martyrdom (*palmam manibus portantes*). Also in the first stanza, the apostles' passion is indicated in a very restrained way (*multa passos propter Deum*). The apostles' intercession is prayed for in the third stanza, and the hymn closes with a prayer for the help of the divine trinity.

[140] Dreves (ed.), *Lateinische Hymnendichter* (AH 48), p. 92. The presence of the hymn makes the absence of an office for the *natale Simonis et Judae* in the Ivrea Antiphonal all the more remarkable. Cfr footnote 101.

[141] Taddaeum: marked by Dreves as a *lapsus calami* for Simon.

[142] *Omne genus monochordi / Voce laudet sub concordi / Iudam simul et Taddaeum / Multa passos propter Deum.*

[143] *Carne vivunt interfecti, / Mundi iudices effecti, / Caelum ornant triumphantes, / Palmam manibus portantes.*

[144] *Nobis parcant, postulemus, / Hoc concedat rex supremus, / Qui disponit, quod est, totum, / Caelum, terram, maris motum.*

[145] *Summi patris celsitudo, / Sui nati plenitudo / Sancti flaminis cum prece / Levent nos a carnis faece.*

6.2. Throno sedente principe

Likewise of North Italian origin is the hymn *Throno sedente principe*, found in a Milanese codex of the 13th century.[146] Nothing is known about the author of this hymn. Yet the content of the text is much more interesting than the hymn of Wido, given the frequent reference to the *Passion of Simon and Jude* in the land where the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat hold sway:

1. When the prince on the throne
shall come to decide
who will judge Israel
there are two from one family,[147]

2. they carry similar glory,
the brotherly pledges of heaven:
Blessed Simon and the sacred
apostle Jude the Zelote.[148]

3. When they had gone to the land of the Persians,
they prophesied with a response of peace
to duke Varardach, devoted to war,
when he went out to battle.[149]

4. They destroyed the evil sect of the two
deplorable magicians,
and they made known the false acts of the demons
through the spirit of truth.[150]

5. And in return the magicians sent
thousands of snakes,
but unexpectedly [the apostles] wounded them
with venom which they themselves had produced.[151]

6. Wild, evil tigresses
lost their fury, humiliated,

---

[146] C. Blume and G.M. Dreves (eds.), *Hymni inediti: Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1903 = AH 43), p. 287.

[147] *Throno sedente principe / Cum venerit discernere, / Qui iudicabunt Israel, / Assunt duo uno germine.*

[148] *Parem gerentes gloriam, / Germana caeli pignora, / Simon beatus cum sacro / Zelote Iuda apostolo*. Cfr the use of the cognomen *zelotes* for Jude in the *Antiphonal of Florence*.

[149] *Persiae euntes termino / Duce Varadach bellico / Tunc exeunte ad proelium / Responsa pacis proferunt.*

[150] *Pravam duorum tristium / Sectam magorum destruunt / Ac falsa gesta daemonum / Veraci produnt spiritu.*

[151] *Rursus magique immiserant / Serpentium tot milia, / Ipsos repente vulnerant, / Venena qui produxerant.*

and the entire people and the king
believed these signs truthfully.[152]

7. And they, while they wandered through the land
being fruitful by treading
the vane temples and gods, redoubled
their glorious talents for Christ.[153]

8. Holy death provided life
for both in a single martyrdom,
And together they proceed to the glory
to which the Master calls them.[154]

The hymn touches upon the main themes of the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, starting with a semi-biblical reference to their election as members of the Circle of Twelve, who were, according to the hymn, chosen in order to judge Israel. The cognomen *Zelote[s]*, in the second stanza, is connected to Jude instead of Simon. In this the hymn is similar to the first chant of the office for Simon and Jude in the *Antiphonal of Florence*.[155] In the third stanza, the prophesy of peace to duke Varardach is commemorated. In the fourth stanza, the magicians are unmasked, and in the fifth, the venomous serpents made innocuous. In the sixth stanza, the wild tigresses are tamed, a sign taken by the king and his people as proof of the truth of the new faith. The final wanderings of the apostles are recounted in the seventh stanza, as well as their destruction of temples and their elimination of pagan gods by which they made their talent fruitful. A shared deathbed brings the apostles to shared glory, to which they are called by their Master. The hymn is a confined rendition of the *Passion of Simon and Jude* in verse, in which the main lines of their life and acts are related, as well as their martyr's death. The region of Milan, where Simon and Jude were obviously quite popular in the second half of the Middle Ages, produced even more hymns in honour of these brothers in calling, acts, and martyrdom, in which the apocryphal acts of the apostles play a dominant role. Yet given the late date of the manuscripts in which

[152] *Ferae malignae tigrides / Perdunt furorem supplices, / Signis quibus fideliter / Gens omnis et rex credidit.*

[153] *Qui cuncta dum perambulant / Calcando fana et idola, / Sic frugescentes inclita / Talenta Christo duplicant.*

[154] *Ambobus uno funere / Mors sancta vitam praebuit, / Et, qua magister evocat, / Pergunt pares ad gloriam.*

[155] See above, section 5 and footnote 111.

these hymns are transmitted, they have to be left out of consideration in this study.[156]

The search for hymns in honour of the apostolic pair Simon and Jude yields only two relevant texts, both originating in the same region: North Italy. Yet both hymns are interesting examples of the incorporation of apocryphal material in a liturgical text, explicitly and abundantly in the hymn *Throno sedente*, and implicitly in the hymn of Wido of Ivrea.

7. *Conclusion*

Even though the case of Simon and Jude offers less liturgical material than the other apostles, there is rich evidence of the incorporation of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles in the medieval liturgical celebration of these apostles. The prayers for mass as well as the chants for the liturgy of the hours and a few hymns offer interesting examples of the reception and transformation of apocryphal narratives. The prayers for the eucharist celebrated in honour of Simon and Jude are particularly important because of the evidence they offer of an anamnetic character of the commemoration of the apostles in medieval liturgy. Through the liturgical commemoration the apostles' life and passion in the past become crucial components for the congregation of the (medieval) present. This anamnetic commemoration will, together with other general elements of the liturgical celebration of the apostles, be further discussed in the final chapter.

156 Blume and Dreves (eds.), *Hymni inediti* (AH 43), p. 288.

CHAPTER SIX

IMAGES OF THE APOSTLES

The preceding chapters have made visible that the medieval composers of liturgical prayers, chants, and hymns in honour of the apostles did not hesitate to appeal to the apocryphal Acts in their creation of a commemorative cult of these founders of the universal church. In the liturgical incorporation of the apocryphal narrative, not all themes and topics receive equal attention, nor are all apostles characterized in the same way. The present chapter provides an analysis of the selection of apocryphal material in the liturgical texts, by examining which motives of the apocrypha are incorporated in the liturgy and which are left out. It gives an overview of the way the apostles were portrayed in medieval liturgy, in order to sharpen the profile of the apostles as protagonists in the history of medieval Christianity. The chapter is divided into six sections, discussing the reception of the following narrative themes in the liturgy: 1. the apostolic foundation of the church; 2. the combat between the apostle and the demonic; 3. the preaching work of the apostles; 4. the apostle and his companions; 5. the death and martyrdom of the apostles; and 6. the cult of the apostles as individual saints and as a collegium.

1. *The apostolic foundation of the church*

At the end of the gospel of Matthew, Jesus is said to have sent out his disciples with the commission to preach the gospel, to teach the *gentes*, and to incorporate them into the body of his followers through baptism (Mt. 28:19). This assignment is a central theme in the apocryphal Acts, where the apostles are emphatically presented as the first missionaries and the founders of the worldwide *ecclesia* through preaching, catechizing, and baptizing. This aspect of the apostles' acts plays a crucial role in the liturgical celebration of the apostles, where the apostolic foundation of the church is commemorated in an anamnetic way. The *anamnesis* of Christ's passion and resurrection is a central theme

in the liturgy of the eucharist.[1] The repeated commemoration during mass of Christ's redeeming work is supposed to establish the presence of God's love and healing in the sacrament of the eucharist on behalf of the temporary and eternal bliss of the celebrating community. The *magnalia dei*—from the origin of creation to Christ's passion, resurrection, and promise of his second coming—are commemorated in the here and now. This commemoration provides the hopeful perspective of the fulfilment of God's promises at the end of time. In this anamnetic character of the liturgy, the Christian church is indebted to Jewish tradition, exhorted to commemorate the exodus and the passover in the annual ritual of Pesach (Passover).[2] While the anamnetic character of the commemoration of Christ is a central object in liturgical studies, little attention is paid to a similarly anamnetic commemoration of the acts and passion of the saints in the context of mass or in other forms of liturgical celebration. Yet the *anamnesis* of the saints takes an interesting shape in medieval liturgy, presenting and actualizing the memorable acts and death of the saints through commemoration of their life in a ritual context.[3] The preceding case studies have shown that the apostles take a special position in this anamnetic commemoration, in many cases reinforced by the presence of their relics. During the liturgy of the apostle's feast-day, the community commemorates the foundation of the Christian church by the apostle, and links it directly to her own existence in the here and now. Many liturgical texts put this commemoration in an eschatological perspective, praying for eternal salvation through the intercession of the apostle.

The second prayer in the Old Spanish mass in commemoration of Simon and Jude (LMS 1479) is an important example of the anamnetic character of the liturgy of the apostles. The apostles, who laid the foundation of the church by their doctrine (*qui doctrinis fundauerunt aecclesiam*)

[1] H.B. Meyer, 'Zeit und Gottesdienst. Anthropologische Bemerkungen zur liturgischen Zeit', in *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 31 (1981), 92–213, at 208; G. Lukken, *Rituelen in overvloed. Een kritische bezinning op de plaats en de gestalte van het christelijke ritueel in onze cultuur* (Baarn, 1999), pp. 140–141, 284–285. English edition, *Ritual in abundance. Critical reflection on the place, form, and identity of Christian ritual in our culture* (Louvain, 2005).

[2] On anamnesis in Jewish liturgical prayers, see, for instance, P. Bradshaw, *The search for the origins of Christian worship. Sources and methods for the study of early liturgy* (New York-Oxford, 1992; 2nd, revised edition 2002), pp. 15–16.

[3] Rose, 'Hagiography as a liturgical act'.

are presented as mediators of hope, forgiveness, and faith. The welfare of the church is dependent on their preaching and doctrine (*fulgeat ecclesia illorum doctrina, quorum in illa habetur predicatio gloriosa*). Their governance is asked not only on behalf of the church but also of the entire society: kings as well as virgins and clergy. Moreover, the celebration of their feast is linked directly to the remission of sins and the acquisition of eternal salvation (*Ut qui illorum uictoriis excitati, eorum sollemnia celebramus, eorum meritis a criminibus absoluti, ad te post transitum ueniamus*). Likewise, the prayers of the Eighth-century Frankish Gelasian tradition for Simon and Jude express the benefit of the commemoration of the apostolic past for the community of the medieval present. As we observed in the detailed discussion of these prayers, the apostles are put forward as those who have created access to the 'knowledge of God's name' for the community of the present day, as if the medieval faithful themselves were among the apostles' audience in Suanir and Babylon. The liturgical commemoration of the passion of the apostles grants healing (*medillam*) to the faithful (*ut (...) que pro illorum ueneranda gerimus passione, nobis proficiant ad medillam*—Gell 1576). This beneficial effect of liturgical commemoration explains the eagerness of the faithful to venerate the apostles' martyrdom (*fideles tui uenerandas assidue praecurrentes sanctorum martyrum passiones*), as is expressed by the prayer after communion of the mass for Simon and Jude in the sacramentaries of Biasca (1066) and Bergamo (1145), as well as in the preface of the mass for Philip and James in the *Sacramentary of Vich*. In the latter prayer, the commemoration of the apostles' passion *today* is celebrated in order to gain protection and support (*Vicennense* 315). A direct link between the foundation of the church by an apostle and the development of the commemorating community is found in the Old Spanish prayers of the mass for James, where the protection and guidance of the apostle is prayed for, who suffered martyrdom because of his foundation work (*ut eam tueatur patrocinio indefesso, ob cuius edificationem meruit de consummato exultare martyrio*—prayer *post Sanctus* 142). Likewise, the blessing for Philip and James in the *Canterbury Benedictional* asks for the reinforcement of the catholic faith, of which the apostles were forerunners.

The presence of the apostles in the medieval community is not only confirmed by the commemoration of their acts and passion but is also expressed by the invention or reinvention of their relics in a non-Christian or hostile environment. The relics of Matthew are the most conspicuous example. They were rediscovered at the end of the

11th century by the ecclesiastical ruler of the church of Salerno and were installed there as the foundation of the newly built church, which was meant to house a congregation under a new ruler, consecrated by the pope, and therefore under the protection of the Latin church. This development is reflected in liturgical texts, namely hymns for Matthew's *natale* and for the annual commemoration of the relics' translation. The hymns for the latter feast-day show how the faithful of Salerno are tied to the apostle and how they form a community where Matthew protects his 'citizens' (hymn *Apostolorum nobili*). A similar process, though the sources do not enable us to trace this in a similarly clear way, may have surrounded the reinvention and subsequent veneration of Bartholomew's relics in South Italy, more specifically Benevento, in the 9th century. In the case of Bartholomew, we are not in the fortunate position of the same abundance of historical and liturgical sources on the invention of the relics as in the case of Matthew. But the development of the cult on the base of Bartholomew's relics is reflected in the *Canosa Missal* that represents the Beneventan liturgy, most notably in the prayer *Deus qui apostoli tui*, where the relics of Bartholomew are praised as a blessing for the Italians and patronage for the local faithful. The composition of the Beneventan liturgy can be considered as an answer to the translation of Bartholomew's relics, a strong defence against Muslim dominion in the region of Lipari and South Italy in the 9th and 10th centuries.

The characterization of the apostle as founder of the universal church and of the specific community where he is commemorated is expressed through ample use of the apocryphal narrative, which plays a crucial role in the design of this commemoration. This is particularly clear in the case of Bartholomew. Many details of the apocryphal narrative recur in the prayers, chants, and hymns. Thus, the 'untamed' Indians are mentioned, as well as Bartholomew's fight against the demons. The story of the people of India actively supporting the destruction of the former religion, and taking on the new faith the apostle preaches, returns in many of the liturgical texts. Explicit reference is made to the role of the angel in cleansing the former temple and signing it with the cross, in order to dedicate it as a church, for instance in the chants of the office for Bartholomew in the *Antiphonal of Ivrea*. The crossing of the church was a readily recognized symbol for the 11th-century community of Ivrea.

In the same vein, the formation of a Christian community after the apostle had succeeded in persuading the region of his mission to join

the Christian religion is an important element where the apocryphal narrative resounds in the liturgical commemoration. Thus the hymn *Fulget coruscans* in honour of Philip mentions the installation of an ecclesiastical hierarchy consisting of *levitas* and *sacerdotes*. The hymn as a whole reflects the process of conversion step by step. The same is visible in the *inlatio* of the Old Spanish mass for Bartholomew (LMS 843) and in the office for Bartholomew's feast-day in the *Antiphonal of Ivrea*. Both texts follow the *Passion of Bartholomew* neatly, and by doing so provide a picture of the foundation of the church in successive stages. Both liturgical texts bring to mind how, in the past, the demons were eliminated, the royal family was converted and baptized followed by the people; how the new converts destroyed their former temple and replaced it by a church, and how they founded, after the apostle's martyrdom, a church on his grave and promoted his cult.

The full narrative of the apocryphal Acts, concentrating on the central role of the apostles in the foundation of the Christian church, was used in the establishment of the commemoration of the apostles in a ritual context, so that it could contribute to the formation of the concrete medieval community. The anamnetic character of these liturgical texts is strong: they create a living *memoria* of the past as a fundament for the community of today, striving for future beatitude in the form of eternal salvation.

2. *Apostles and demons*

The foundation of the church by the apostles was, as has become visible in the previous section, a process in distinct stages. The apocryphal narrative pays much attention to the preparatory stage of clearing the path for the new religion. Before the apostle could build a Christian congregation, he had to win the mission area assigned to him for the new religion and had to convince the people that the god he preached was the only true God, as opposed to the gods venerated on the spot. In this struggle, the apostle, as representative of the new, Christian religion, is opposed to the representatives of the local religion, pejoratively indicated as 'demons', adhering to a 'false' system. The combat between apostle and demons is described in the apocryphal narrative as the breaking of a vicious circle, where the power of the demons, who deceive the people with fake illnesses and fake cures, is broken by the arrival of the apostle, who brings release. The theme is clearly inspired

by Old Testament representations of the contest between the God of the Hebrews and the gods of the *gentes* (e.g. Ps. 113 / 115).[4]

The apostle's fight with demons and other representatives of the 'false religion' is a recurrent theme in the liturgical texts. However, while the foundation work of the apostles returns rather straightforwardly in the liturgical celebrations, the reception of the struggle between demon and apostle is more complex. Where the theme of the apostle fighting the demons is commemorated in a ritual context, a distinct shift or transformation is visible.

The apocryphal narrative presents the contest between the apostle and the representatives of the local religion generally as a competition aimed at proving the superiority of one religion over the other. The model for this might be found in the confrontation of the apostles Peter and Paul with the magician Simon, who claims to be the true Son of God. Simon Magus already occurs in the Lukan Acts (ch. 8), where he offers money to the apostles Peter and John in return for the gift of the holy Spirit (whence the term *simony*).[5] He returns more elaborately and more outspokenly in the apocryphal *Acts of Peter*. There is no existing copy of the complete text of the original Greek *Acts of Peter*. The oldest preserved version instead is a Latin document, referred to as the *Actus Vercellenses*, named after the manuscript of Verceil in which it is transmitted. This manuscript is dated to the 6th or 7th century, whereas the text is considered to be as old as the 3rd or 4th century.[6] Next to

---

[4] According to Gerard Bartelink, the opposition of freedom and slavery to represent the relation between Christianity and pagan religions is a common feature in early Christian demonology. G.J.M. Bartelink, 'De demonologie van het vroege christendom', in G. Rooijakkers, L. Dresen-Coenders, and M. Geerdes (eds.), *Duivelsbeelden. Een cultuurhistorische speurtocht door de Lage Landen* (Baarn, 1994), pp. 21–53. I discussed the struggle between apostle and demon in Rose, '*Erant enim sine deo vero*'; and in ead., 'Clash of altars, clash of cults: the foundation of Christianity in apocryphal and liturgical texts', in A. Rauwel (ed.), *Autour de l'autel chrétien médiéval III* (Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre) (Turnhout, forthcoming).

[5] On the Latin tradition of the *Acts of Peter* see J. Flamion, 'Les Actes apocryphes de Pierre', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 11 (1910), 9–28, 223–256, 447–470, 675–692; L. Vouaux, *Les Actes de Pierre. Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1922); G. Poupon, 'Les 'Actes de Pierre' et leur remaniement', in W. Haase (et al.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.25.6 (Berlin, 1988), pp. 4363–4383; for references to manuscripts, editions, and further studies, see CANT, pp. 101–108. On Simon Magus, see most recently A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus in patristic, medieval and early modern tradition* (Leiden, 2005).

[6] Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 2, p. 250.

this old version, a number of Latin rewritings of the Acts were made between the 4th and 6th centuries. Three major variants of the *Acts of Peter* were written under the names of Linus, Hegesippus, and Marcellus, a compilation of which was incorporated in the early medieval Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. The different Latin transmissions of the *Acts* and *Martyrdom* of Peter or of Peter and Paul put different protagonists on the stage when it comes to the contest with Simon and the magician's unhappy flight. Thus in the *Actus Vercellenses*, the fight is between Peter and Simon only, with the Roman citizens as spectators.[7] The people ask Peter to conquer Simon, who claims to be a power of God (*qui se dicebat dei uirtutem esse*).[8] The struggle is a typical search for the 'strongest God', and therefore the 'true God' in whose name the people of Rome should believe. Although Simon is strong and skilful in the art of magic (*in arte magica*), the apostle Peter is always leading. Simon's audacious plan to fly is presented as a miraculous return to his heavenly Father, in short an ascension. Simon crashes down, breaks his bones and finally breathes his last. In the version of *Pseudo-Hegesippus*,[9] which is sometimes attributed to Ambrose and presumably originates around 370,[10] Peter and Paul are both mentioned, but the narrative concentrates on Peter as Simon's main opponent. Simon is supported by Nero, who considers the magician as a good friend and benefactor of the empire. Simon announces his flight towards heaven and is admired by the people when carrying out his plans. Nero's fury after Simon's breakdown is the immediate cause for Peter's (and Paul's) martyrdom.[11] In the Passion of Peter and Paul, *Cum uenisset Paulus Romam*, under the name of Pseudo-Marcellus,[12] the story is more complicated, since both Peter and Paul play against Simon. But here as well, Peter is

---

[7] *Actus Vercellenses* (BHL 6656). Lipsius (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 1, pp. 45–103. See CANT nr 190.iii, p. 102.

[8] *Actus Vercellenses* 8. Lipsius (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 1, p. 54.

[9] *Passio Petri et Pauli in Pseudo-Hegesippi historia* (BHL 6648). V. Ussani (ed.), *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri V* (Vienna, 1932; New York 1960 = CSEL 66), pp. 183–187. Cfr CANT nr 192, pp. 104–105.

[10] Flamion, 'Actes apocryphes de Pierre', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 11 (1910), 15; Vouaux, *Actes de Pierre*, p. 131.

[11] Pseudo-Hegesippus, c. III.2: *Quo conperto deceptum se Nero et destitutum dolens tanti casu amici, sublatumque sibi uirum utilem et necessarium reipublicae, indignatus quaerere coepit causas, quibus Petrum occideret*. Ussani (ed.), *Hegesippi*, p. 186.

[12] *Passio apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (Pseudo-Marcellus) (BHL 6657). Lipsius (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 1, pp. 119–177. See CANT nr 193, pp. 105–106.

the real hero, who puts a dramatic end to Simon's flight on the request of a weeping Paul.[13]

In the Latin tradition of the apocryphal Acts of the six apostles under examination in the present study, magicians likewise play a role in the competition for the true and superior God. This is most notably the case in the Passions of Matthew and of Simon and Jude. The three of them fight the sorcerers Zaroes and Arphaxat. In the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, the sorcerers parallel the magicians whom Moses and Aaron fought before Pharaoh, named Jamnes and Mambres in II Tim. 3:8. Here a similar picture is sketched as in the *Acts of Peter*. The magicians in the *Passion of Matthew*, on the other hand, have much in common with the demons in the *Passion of Bartholomew*. Just as the demon in Astaroth's temple holds the people prison in false illnesses and fake cures, so the sorcerers delude the people according to the *Passion of Matthew* by paralysing them and then presenting cures as if they were miracle workers. In the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, emphasis is more on the sorcerers' teachings, which will be discussed in section 4 of the present chapter. Both in the *Passion of Matthew* and in the *Passion of Simon and Jude* the apostle's arrival brings liberation. The apostle's presence is felt most of all in the fact that the counterforce, be it demons or magicians, is paralysed itself. The apocryphal narrative invariably reports the impotence of the representatives of the local religion upon arrival of the apostle.

The passion narratives of Philip and James differ from the cases of Matthew, Bartholomew, Simon and Jude. No demons or magicians occur in the *Passion of James* or in any other account on James playing a role in the liturgical commemoration of this apostle. In the *Gesta Philippi*, the apostle fights a dragon hidden in the statue of Mars, which is chased to the desert in the very first lines of the story and does not return. The case of Philip does however correspond to the others in an important feature that goes as a leitmotiv through the apocryphal narratives: the people's active participation in the destruction of the old and the establishment of the new religion. The case of Philip shares this motive most notably with the case of Bartholomew.

The struggle against idols in the lives of apostles, especially in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, is discussed by Brossard-Dandré, particularly concerning the notes on Bartholomew, Matthew, and Simon and

[13] Pseudo-Marcellus, *Passio Petri et Pauli*, c. 50–56. Lipsius (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 1, pp. 163–167.

Jude.[14] Brossard-Dandré pays attention to the fact that the demons in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias often abide in images of the gods. In the case of Bartholomew, the statues of the demons Astaroth and Beireth function as dwelling places; in the case of Simon and Jude, material images of Sun and Moon are at stake. In both cases, the outer appearance of the demons is described, just as the magicians are described in the notes on Peter and Paul.[15] The occurrence of and struggle against idols is an important item in Alibert's study of world-view and imagination in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias as well.[16] Demons, known by name and appearance, as well as statues (idols), are neatly described and discussed in the Collection. The apostles, among others Bartholomew, wage a fierce fight against the threat of demons and idolatrous icons. For the present study, it is important to consider the role that the struggle against idols plays in the liturgical texts, where a shift is visible from concrete, physical demons to spiritual and individual demons, viz. the inner sins of the faithful.

The liturgical texts in commemoration of Bartholomew are the most outspoken examples of the reception of the apostolic fight with demons in a ritual context, notably the prayers of the Old Spanish mass in honour of Bartholomew. The apostle commands and binds demons (LMS 843: *demones catenis addicit*), prevents them from communicating with the people (LMS 843: *Astaroth idolum non sinit dare responsum*), and forces them to speak the truth (LMS 843: *veritatem predicare demones inperat*). The destruction of the temple is followed by the consecration of a church (*verbo simulacra confringit—templum Astaroth a demonibus reddidit liberum, illudque tibi consecrauit per spiritum sanctum*). In the liturgical text, the commemoration of the transformation of the ancient pagan cult place into a Christian church is linked to the prayer that 'the apostle likewise may release us from our sins, and may make us worthy to participate in the divine office' (… *ita nos a piaculis soluat, et coram te in ministerio tuo dignos effici[a]t*). Thus, the story of the apostle's past deeds is actualized into a narrative of spiritual release, which enables the medieval faithful to participate in the liturgical celebration and, through that, in eternal bliss.

14 Brossard-Dandré, 'La collection du Pseudo-Abdias', pp. 202–203.
15 Alibert, 'Vision du monde', pp. 223–224.
16 Ibid., pp. 220–222.

The same is visible in the prayers of the Beneventan tradition in honour of Bartholomew. They also interpret the apostle's fighting of the demons in a new spiritualized way. The prayer *Deus qui exorante apostolo* of the mass for Bartholomew in the *Canosa Missal* is the most explicit example. The expulsion of demons by the destruction of their idols, as Bartholomew accomplished in the city of Astaroth, is compared with the extirpation of 'the images of sins' from the hearts of the faithful. The conflict between religions in the age of Christianity's spread and first formation is actualized for the medieval congregation by a spiritualization of the 'evil forces': the apostle does no longer fight 'external' demons as representatives of false religions, but 'internal' sins of the individual Christians themselves.

In the case of Matthew, spiritualization and actualization of the image of this apostle is quite obvious, given the story of his life. The prayers for his feast-day focus on the transition of Matthew from sinner to saint through his calling from the tax-booth, and they express the hope that the faithful may share in this transformation (*Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* 121). The apostle personifies the conversion from a sinful state to membership in Christ's circle of deliverance.

The apocryphal narrative recounting the apostle's power over demons and dragons is expressed in the Old Spanish mass in honour of Matthew, most notably in the *inlatio* (LMS 942: *demonum potestati resistit . . .; draconibus imperat, et se ferientis ire subcumbit*), but is not spiritualized. The same goes for Philip, whose fight with the foul dragon is certainly referred to in the liturgical compositions for his feast-day (most notably in the hymn *Fulget coruscans* from Spain) but not with a specific spiritualizing transformation.

The case of the apostles Simon and Jude is completely different. Their confrontation with the representatives of the other and therefore necessarily hostile religion are incorporated in the liturgical texts in most remarkable ways. Thus the teaching of the apostles opposing the 'false' doctrines of the demons comes to the fore in the prayers of the Old Spanish mass in honour of the pair, where their doctrine is pointed to as a source of great joy (LMS 1478: *et mens illorum doctrinis hilarior compungatur in gaudiis*). The apostles' dominion over the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat is included in the prayers of this mass as an image of the purification and spiritual salvation of the faithful (LMS 1480, 1482). In the final prayer of the unfinished mass, the faithful are even invited by the celebrant to follow him and to consider the deeper meaning of the apostles' refusal of a material reward the king offered

them by 'turn[ing] the eyes of the mind with me into the inner secrets' (Fragm. 1485: *mentis oculos mecum in intima ducite*). This has already been discussed in chapter 5.

The examples put forward here may suffice to give an impression of the presentation of the multiple levels of meaning the apocryphal narrative obtains in the ritual context of a liturgical prayer by interiorizing the message and spiritualizing the powers of the apostles over the mundane range.

3. *Preachers of the gospel*

An important assignment, if not the most important task, of the apostles is to preach the gospel: *euntes autem praedicate dicentes quia adpropinquavit regnum caelorum* (Mt. 10:7; cfr Mt. 28:19–20; Mk. 16:20; Acts 1:8). In the Latin accounts of the Acts of the apostles, the summaries of apostolic preaching take a prominent position. In the present section, the reverberation of this preaching and its contents in the ritual context of the commemoration of the apostles is observed. The selection of themes and perspectives of the apostles' preaching from the apocryphal narrative is examined, as well as its transformation or adaptation in a ritual context.

The importance of the apostolic preaching is stressed in many of the liturgical texts, most notably the prayers for the celebration of mass. Before turning to specific cases, it is helpful to observe the integration of the topic of preaching in common masses for the celebration of one or several apostles.[17] The following prayer in the common mass *in natale unius apostuli et martyris* in the Gallican sacramentary known as the *Missale Gothicum* (Burgundy, *c.* 700) can serve as an example:

> We humbly invoke your majesty, o Lord, so that this blessed apostle *N*, who has been a preacher and teacher for your church, may be for us a perpetual delegate.[18]

Likewise the episcopal blessing for the general commemoration of an apostle in the Frankish supplement added to the *Sacramentarium Grego-*

[17] The term *common* in this context is used to indicate general masses (for instance for a group of apostles or martyrs), not tailored to one specific saint.

[18] *Missale Gothicum*, 381: *Maiestatem tuam, domine, suppliciter exoramus ut sicut eclesiae tuae beatus* ille *apostolos [apostolus] praedicator et doctor extetit, ita sit pro nobis perpetuus suffragator. Per dominum nostrum Iesum.* Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 496.

rianum underlines the importance of the apostolic doctrine to the faith of the praying congregation:

> And may you come to the inheritance of the eternal home through the intercession of those through whose doctrine you hold on to the integrity of faith. Amen.[19]

The *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus* attributes the faithful's knowledge of God to the mission work of the apostles in the opening prayer of the mass for all apostles:

> God, who has given us to come to the knowledge of your name through the blessed apostles, grant us that we may celebrate their eternal glory by testifying to it, and that it may serve us through our celebration of it.[20]

These examples are taken from the commemoration of one or several apostles, not further specified. A similar emphasis on the general importance of the preaching and teaching of an apostle is visible in the liturgical tradition of Frankish Gaul in the later 8th and 9th centuries, where the notion of apostolic preaching and doctrine recurs often in the prayers for the individual apostles.[21] In these prayers, however, nothing is said about the *content* of the message. Other liturgical traditions, paying more attention to the singularities of an apostle's acts than the Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries do, are more helpful to our purpose. Some examples will be discussed in the following.

In the *Passion of Bartholomew*, the element of preaching is clearly present. In the apocryphal literature, Bartholomew is depicted as the apostle with special access to divine matters. This association might go back to the early Christian identification of Bartholomew with Nathanael, to whom Jesus said when he was presented by Philip (John 1:50–51):

> [50]Jesus answered, 'Do you believe because I told you that I saw you under the fig tree? You will see greater things than these.' [51]And he said to him,

---

[19] *Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum*, Suppl. 1770: *Quo per eorum intercessionem perueniatis ad aeternae patriae hereditatem, per quorum doctrinam tenetis fidei integritatem. Amen*. Deshusses (ed.), *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, p. 591.

[20] *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*, 942: *Deus, qui nos per beatos apostolos ad cognicionem tui nominis uenire tribuisti, da nobis eorum gloriam sempiternam et perficiendo caelebrare et caelebrando proficere: per*. Mohlberg (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae*, p. 147.

[21] A few examples: *Gellonense* 1382 (Bartholomew); *Gellonense* 930 (Philip and James); *Gellonense* 1480, 1481 (Matthew).

'Very truly, I tell you, you will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man.'[22] (NRSV)

Various apocryphal apocalypses are connected to the name of Bartholomew, where hidden truths concerning Christ's incarnation, passion and resurrection are revealed to him and, through him, to the other apostles during his dialogues with the risen Christ and the Virgin.[23] It is not entirely clear how these texts, originally in Greek, relate to the *Passion of Bartholomew* as it is incorporated in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias.[24] However this may be, it is remarkable that the birth of Jesus from a virgin is a dominant theme in Bartholomew's preaching according to the Latin *Passion of Bartholomew*.[25] In reaction to the king's wish to reward Bartholomew with gifts of silver and gold, the apostle starts to explain some of the main lines of Christian doctrine, such as the virgin birth of Jesus, preceded by the annunciation; Jesus's stay in the desert where he was tempted by the devil; the creation of Adam from virgin Earth, and the mission of the apostles. The extensive direct quotation of the apostle's preaching to king Polymius, interrupted only once by a question of the king, leads to the explanation of Bartholomew's refusal of precious objects. The apostle claims that his treasure is in heaven, where Christ is and no illness or decay has access (cfr Mt. 19:21; Lk. 12:33). This notion is reflected by two liturgical chants sung during the night office according to the tradition of 11th-century Ivrea. As was stated already in chapter 2, the apostle's digression on virginity and Christ's incarnation is not incorporated in the liturgical chant; emphasis is exclusively on the rejection of material good.

---

[22] *respondit Iesus et dixit ei quia dixi tibi vidi te sub ficu credis maius his videbis / et dicit ei amen amen dico vobis videbitis caelum apertum et angelos Dei ascendentes et descendentes supra Filium hominis.*

[23] On the apocalyptic literature related to Bartholomew see chapter 2, footnote 11.

[24] The oldest Latin manuscript transmission of the *Quaestiones Bartholomaei* is a 9th-century anthology (Vat.reg.lat. 1050) which seems to rely on a 7th- or 8th-century compilation; an integral version is found in an 11th-century manuscript. A. Wilmart and E. Tisserant, 'Fragments grecs et latins de l'*Évangile de Barthélemy*', *Revue biblique internationale* 10 (1913), 161–190, at 170–175; cfr Kaestli, 'Questions de Barthélemy', in ÉAC 1, p. 264. Wilmart and Tisserant seem to deny any correspondence between the sources of the *Quaestiones Bartholomaei* and the Latin *Passio (Virtutes) Bartholomaei*; ibid., p. 161 footnote 2 and p. 169. However, Alibert c.s. suggest that there is a connection: Alibert et al. (trans.), *Passion de Barthélemy*, in ÉAC 2, p. 799 footnote 9.

[25] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 4–5. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 134–140.

Further reference to Bartholomew's preaching is found in several hymns for his feast-day. Here the allusions to the apostle's preaching are rather general. In the Beneventan hymn *Ad laudem Christi procerum*, Bartholomew is presented as one of the *proceres*. At the division of the disciples after Christ's ascension he went to India, 'preaching the son of God and performing miracles'.[26] Bartholomew's preaching is not exemplified further in the hymn—his victorious power over the demons is a more important aspect of this liturgical text. Likewise the Old Spanish hymn *Exaudi Christe nate nos patris pie* does not elaborate on the content of Bartholomew's preaching, apart from the presentation of the apostle as the powerful preacher of God's glory (*Hinc cepit fortis exhibere gloriam / omni cum cordis inclita potentia*) and the teacher of the law (*legis doctorem*).[27] An allusion to the virgin birth of Christ might be hidden in the first stanza, where Christ is praised as the son of the father and 'the only son of the mother': *dilectus ecce matris unicus*. This expression might be in line with the traditions that deny any other children to Mary.[28]

Although there are some interesting reflections of Bartholomew's preaching in the liturgical texts, the liturgy of 'the apostle against idols' is not predominantly occupied with his preaching. The image of the apostle breaking new ground for the new religion and conquering the representatives of the old religion is more prominent than the image of Bartholomew preaching virginity and the rejection of material goods.

In the case of the apostles Philip and James, the notion of preaching is mentioned often. Philip's name, provided with the etymology *os lampadis*, is a direct cause to associate the apostle with the verbal proclamation of the gospel, as occurs in the apostle lists and martyrological sources, discussed in chapter 3. The Old Spanish hymn *Fulget coruscans* might well be inspired by the image of light that dominates this etymology in its phrase 'he preached (. . .) the true and most holy light among the gentiles'.[29] Further on in this hymn, the theme of preaching recurs more elaborately. The hymn follows the summary of Philip's preaching in the Latin account of his mission in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias,[30]

[26] *Bartholomaeus inclitus / praedicans Dei filium / ingressus est in Indiam*. Dreves (ed.), *Hymnarius Severinianus* (AH 14A), p. 114.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Cfr chapter 3, footnote 45.

[29] *Praedicat gentes lumen verum sanctius*. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 228–229.

[30] *Gesta Philippi*, c. 3. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 740.

and summarizes in one stanza the entire year of the apostle's catechesis to the people of Scythia:

6. He made resound the great deeds of the Lord,
How he had come to earth, coming forth from a virgin,
how he enlightened this world with miracles
and after that received the passion in the end,
rose again from there and returned to heaven.[31]

Main themes of Philip's preaching are the incarnation and birth of Christ from a virgin, his miracles, his passion, burial and resurrection. In the *Gesta Philippi*, Philip concludes his preaching with the account of the emission of the holy Spirit and then presents himself as one of the Twelve. The latter theme is not mentioned by the hymn, but for the rest this liturgical text shows no remarkable cuts or adaptations with regard to the apocryphal narrative.

In the case of James, the lists of the apostles and martyrologies present this apostle emphatically as the preacher of Christ's divinity to the Jews. In the *Passion of James*, the apostle's pulpit is the pinnacle of the temple, from where his message is very succinct: Jesus is the access to God, he is Christ the Saviour.[32] Even though this might be the shortest summary of an apostle's preaching in the entire Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, the theme of preaching itself recurs more often in the liturgical texts in commemoration of James than in the case of any other apostle. Almost every liturgical text on James discussed in chapter 3 stages James as the preacher, who testified to Christ in front of the Jews. Thus the theme is interwoven in the prayers of the lengthy mass in honour of James in the Old Spanish tradition and, in more detail, in the two hymns in commemoration of James discussed in chapter 3. Both hymns refer more than once to James's preaching. The hymn for the *natale*, *Clarum nobis Christe*, tells how the Just gave an example of Christian doctrine to all (stanza 3), and how he preached from the roof of the temple 'the faith in your name (...) as the rule of a life of truth, in order to obtain grace' (stanza 4).[33] In the case of James, the liturgical text is even more explicit than the apocryphal narrative. Instead of the *brevissimum* 'Christ the Saviour is the access to God' of the

[31] *Auditum fecit Domini magnalia, / Quomodo venit virgineque prodiit, / In mundo isto miraculis claruit / Et post in finem passionem suscepit, / Inde resurgens et ad polum rediens*. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 229.

[32] *Passio Jacobi*, c. 5. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 602.

[33] Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 184.

Passion, the liturgical text elaborates and describes James's preaching as the explanation of the rule of a life of truth, and the indication of the way to grace.

The preacher *par excellence* among the six selected apostles is without doubt Matthew the Evangelist. In the *Passion of Matthew* the apostle takes his point of departure in the Old Testament. He starts his explanation of the life and mission of Christ by telling the story about the Tower of Babel, from where he continues to tell the incarnation and earthly life of Christ. But life and fall in the earthly paradise play an important role as well, no less than the proclamation of the restoration of paradise in the eschaton. Another important feature of Matthew's preaching is his exposé about marriage and chastity to King Hirtacus in reaction to the latter's wish to marry Iphigeneia. In the liturgical texts in honour of the apostle's feast-day, Matthew's preaching is a recurrent theme. In some cases the liturgical text directly repeats Matthew's message. This happens in the *immolatio* of the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary*:

> For you have destined
> your only begotten son
> to be the eminent ransom
> of redemption. But you have had him,
> who was sent to the earthly sphere, always with you in
> heaven as of the same being and co-eternal with you. And by his coming
> in the flesh we have been illuminated as well as healed.[34] (IPS 125)

The same is at stake in the prayers of the Old Spanish mass for Matthew's *natale*, most notably the *inlatio* (LMS 942).[35] Instead of referring in indirect speech to Matthew's preaching, the prayer itself proclaims the eternity of Christ, the incarnation for the sake of salvation, his passion, and the resurrection. More interesting than this lengthy text with few surprising adaptations vis à vis the apocryphal narrative is the Old Spanish hymn *Christe tu rerum opifexque operum*.[36] In this text the content of Matthew's preaching as it is rendered in the *Passion of Matthew* is followed more precisely. Like Matthew himself, the hymn takes its point of departure in the book of Genesis, retelling the creation of heaven and earth (by Christ), of stars and skies, of man, plants and sea (stanza 1). It goes as far back as the life of Adam in paradise, where he lived in 'a

[34] Dold and Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, pp. 148–150.
[35] Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, pp. 344–346.
[36] Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 219–221.

natural understanding of the law'; as far back as Moses who received the written commandments (stanza 2). It discusses the Old Testament prophets who taught the people their salvation before the coming of Christ (stanza 3). It then turns to Christ's incarnation, the virgin birth, and his baptism by John (stanza 4). It mentions the election of the apostles, all by name (stanza 5), and Christ's ascension (stanza 6).

The prayer in the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* and the hymn *Christe tu rerum opifexque* are fine examples of a ritual incorporation of the apocryphal narrative as far as apostolic preaching is concerned. The liturgical texts do not only commemorate the apostle's preaching, but they themselves become preaching by proclaiming directly what the apostle has taught in the past. Form and content of texts used in a ritual context coincide.

Although Simon and Jude compete against the same opponents as Matthew, the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat, the role of preaching and the content of the apostles' preaching is not the same in the apocryphal as in the liturgical context. In the *Passion of Matthew*, the magicians Zaroes and Arphaxat are very similar to the demons Bartholomew conquered in Astaroth's temple: they bind the people in dependence to them by making them ill and granting healing only in return for sacrifice. In the *Passion of Simon and Jude*, the magicians are presented in the first place as representatives of heresy and false doctrine. A mixture of gnostic and Manichaean doctrines is their message to the people of Babylon:

> But they maintained an evil doctrine, so that they said blasphemingly that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was a god of darkness, and that Moses was an evildoer. They asserted that all the prophets of God were sent by the god of darkness, and they said that the human soul possessed a part of God. They also said that the creation of the body was done by an evil god, and that it possessed therefore qualities contrary to itself: the elements by which the flesh is pleased make the soul unhappy, and the elements in which the soul rejoices afflict the body. They added sun and moon to the number of gods, and likewise they taught that water possesses divinity. They affirmed, however, that the son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, was a fantasy, and that he was not a true man born from a virgin, and that he was not truly tempted, and had not truly suffered and died. That he was not truly buried, and that he had not truly risen again from the dead on the third day.[37]

[37] *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae*, c. 7: *Erat autem doctrina eorum praua ita ut deum Abraham et deum Isaac et deum Iacob blasphemantes deum dicerent tenebrarum, et Moysen dicerent maleficum; omnes prophetas dei a deo tenebrarum missos assererent; animam homini partem dei habere dicerent.*

The preaching of the apostles is presented as the clarification of the polluted Persian air:

> And polluted by this preaching, Persia merited to find after Zaroes and Arphaxat a great teacher through the apostles Simon and Jude, namely the Lord Jesus Christ, who had said that he would send the holy Spirit from heaven, according to the promise of him who said: 'I go to the Father and send you the Spirit, the comforter'.[38]

According to the *Passion*, Christ himself is heard teaching through the appearance and preaching of his envoys the apostles. While many of the liturgical texts for the commemoration of Simon and Jude underline the importance of their preaching, the best examples of this might be found in the prayers of the Old Spanish mass in honour of the pair.[39] In the opening prayer (1478) the apostles are presented as the instructors of the young church (*ecclesiam primitiuam et instruunt et corrigunt uerbo*). Their preaching of 'the doctrine of their Lord' is presented as equally praiseworthy as their martyrdom—indeed their preaching itself would have been reason enough to establish a liturgical commemoration (*qui etsi pro domino non interiissent sanguine fuso, sollemnes haberentur domini sui doctrine documento*). The *inlatio* (1482) repeats the opening prayer in attaching the same value to the apostles' martyrdom as to their preaching, and by underlining the calling of the apostles to the 'office of preaching' in which they were instructed by Christ himself (*qui sanctos apostolos discipulos suos ad predicationis officium eligens, patienter et humiliter docuit*). But not only the 1st-century Christians in Persia are instructed by the apostles: the prayer *post nomina* (1480) asks for the living faithful to be corrected by the apostles' doctrine (*qui in temporali permanent uita, illorum corrigantur doctrinis*). In the prayer *ad pacem* (1481) more specific attention is paid to the content of the apostles' preaching. The liturgical text follows the *Passion* in its emphasis on the biblical commandment 'Love your

---

Corporis uero figmentum a deo malo factum, et ideo contrariis sibimet esse substantiis in quibus laetatur caro anima contristatur, et in quibus exultat anima corpus affligitur. Solem et lunam deorum numero applicantes, aquam simul deitatem habere docebant. Dei autem filium dominum nostrum Jesum Christum fantasiam fuisse, nec uerum hominem ex uera uirgine natum, nec uere temptatum, nec uere passum, nec uere sepultum, nec uere tertia die resurrexisse a mortuis affirmabant. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 608–610.

[38] *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae*, c. 7: *Hac praedicatione polluta Persida post Zaroen et Arfaxat, magnum meruit invenire doctorem, per beatos apostolos Simonem et Judam: id est, dominum Jesum Christum, qui se diceret Spiritum Sanctum de caelo missurum, juxta promissum dicentis: 'Vado ad patrem et mitto uobis spiritum paracletum'.* Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 610.

[39] Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, pp. 538–542.

enemies and pray for those who persecute you' (Mt. 5:44; Lk. 6:27). Here, as in the prayers in honour of Matthew above, the liturgical text entirely incorporates the preaching of the apostles, so that the prayer itself becomes the teaching of the celebrating congregation.

Although in the Old Spanish prayers in honour of Simon and Jude the superiority of the apostles over the demons is mentioned several times, the magicians as they occur in the *Passion* are not mentioned by name, nor is there any allusion to the content of their teaching. The liturgical prayers do not repeat the magicians' false teaching. This is the case not only in the Old Spanish prayers but in almost all liturgical texts found for the feast-day of Simon and Jude. The magicians do occur, anonymously, at some instances, such as the Milanese hymn *Throno sedente principe*.[40] But here only their 'false acts' (*falsa gesta*) are mentioned, and the magicians are said to belong to an evil sect (*pravam sectam*). Only the chants of the liturgy of the hours mention the doctrinal battle between the apostles and the magicians. In the office of Florence, several chants underline the unmasking of the magicians' false doctrine by Simon and Jude, such as the antiphon *Apostoli ergo ubicumque*, where the doctrine of the magicians is presented as an invention of 'the enemy of humankind' (*et ostendebant doctrinam illorum ab inimico humano generi esse adinuenta*).[41] The office of Aosta proclaims in one of the antiphons of the first nocturn that the apostle[s] 'hastened from the purity of their heart to proclaim the good word against the lies of the magicians'.[42] This could well be a reference to the apostolic preaching in response to the teachings of Zaroes and Arphaxat. But given the fact that the next two antiphons relate the story of Duke Varardach and his use of the magicians as soothsayers in his war with the Indians, the *uerbum bonum* of the apostles against the *mendatia* of the magicians could also be interpreted as the former's prophesy of peace against the foretelling of war by the magicians. However this may be, what remains is that the liturgical texts show a distinct reluctance in the presentation of the content of the magicians' doctrine. However close a liturgical text follows the *Passion of Simon and Jude*—of which the office in the *Antiphonal of Aosta* is a remarkable example—, the account of dualistic theology and a gnostic spark of God in every human soul, of the

---

40 Blume and Dreves (eds.), *Hymni inediti* (AH 43), p. 287.

41 Firenze, Arcivescovado, Biblioteca, s.c., saec. XII, f. 184^{v}.

42 *Contra magorum mendatia de puris cordibus eructuare uerbum bonum festinabat.* Aosta, Biblioteca del seminario maggiore, 6, f. 105^{r}.

body as a creation of an evil demiurge and the divinity of the elements son and moon and water are not repeated in a ritual context. The medieval composers of liturgical texts emphasize the biblical content of the apostolic preaching, such as the love of one's enemies (Mt. 5) and the care for a heavenly treasure which does not decay (Lk. 12). Thus they include lessons of salvation in ritual, performative texts. In sharp contrast with the narrative *Virtutes apostolorum*, the composers of liturgical texts cautiously avoid the mentioning of anything heretic in a ritual context, even if it comes forth from the mouth of a notorious adversary, thanks to whose inevitable and ultimate surrender to Christianity's truth the apostolic glory shines all the more victoriously.

4. *The apostle and his companions*

In the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, the apostle is not alone in his missionary work. During his foundation of the Christian community, he is accompanied by various persons. Mention is made of the apostle's disciples, of bishops and clergy, of a host like the eunuch Candacis in the account on Matthew, and of other helpers and supporters. This present section examines two kind of companions of the apostle and the reception of these figures in liturgical texts: the apostle's female companion, and the local ruler who becomes the apostle's ally and successor.

4.1. *The apostle's female companion*

In many of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, the apostle is accompanied or followed by a female convert or disciple.[43] In the ancient Greek Acts, to mention only a few examples, Andrew finds his spiritual consort in Maximilla, who leaves her husband the proconsul Egeates in order to follow the apostle and to carry out his message of abstinence. Paul's main follower is the virgin and later martyr Thecla, while Peter converts the four concubines of the Roman prefect Agrippa. The apostle Philip is accompanied by his sister Mariamne in the Greek *Martyrium of Philip*, added to the ancient *Acts of Philip*. This sister does not

[43] On the role of women in the biblical and ancient apocryphal Acts of the apostles, see Bovon, 'Canonical and apocryphal Acts of apostles', pp. 175–176, with bibliography in footnote 63.

occur in the Latin *Gesta Philippi*. The four daughters linked to Philip the evangelist in Acts 21:9, however, do play a role in the medieval Latin traditions about Philip, both apocryphal and liturgical, where the apostle and the evangelist are merged into one saint. Some traditions on the apostle Simon, presented as bishop in Egypt first and then in Jerusalem, provide this apostle with the company of the virgin Theonoe.[44] Although this particular tradition of Simon's episcopate is also visible in the Latin world (as in the *Breviarium apostolorum* and Isidore's *De ortu et obitu*), the role of Theonoe has already disappeared in the apostle lists and is entirely absent in the liturgical sources.

According to François Bovon, the occurrence of the apostle's female companion in the ancient apocryphal Acts is 'a way of recognizing the role of women in the propagation of Christianity'.[45] Kate Cooper describes the women of the ancient apocryphal Acts and their execution of the apostolic preaching of continence as 'influential models for female piety in the centuries that followed'.[46] Cooper does not, however, confine herself to the description of the apocrypha's message of continence and sexual purity imagined by the apostle and his female companion, but reveals the deeper meaning and intention of these narratives: the contest for authority and the preservation of the existing social order (by the establishment) or its rejection (by the apostle and his crowd) respectively.[47] In the present section the question will be at stake, to what extent the women of the Latin *Passiones apostolorum* play a role in the medieval liturgical commemoration of the apostles, and how this role correlates to their function in the apocryphal narrative.

The most outspoken female companion is found in the *Passion of Matthew*, namely in the figure of Princess Iphigeneia. As a disciple of the apostle, she dedicates her life to chastity, together with a group of virgins. After Matthew's death, Iphigeneia is presented as the main supporter of Matthew's cult. She is the one who organizes the funds needed for the construction of a 'church worthy of the apostle' (*dignam apostolo Christi ecclesiam*).[48] Even after his death, the apostle, through visions, supports her opposition to her father's successor. After this

---

[44] F. Morard, 'La légende de Simon et Théonoé', *Langues orientales anciennes. Philologie et linguistique* 4 (1993), 147–183 (edition of the Coptic text with French translation); ead., 'Légende de Simon et Théonoé', in Bovon and Geoltrain (eds.), ÉAC 1, pp. 1527–1551.

[45] Bovon, 'Canonical and apocryphal Acts of apostles', p. 176.

[46] K. Cooper, *The virgin and the bride* (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1996), p. 46.

[47] Cooper, *Virgin and bride*, p. 55*s*.

[48] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 15. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 665.

'evil ruler' is polished off, the way is definitively paved for a triumph of Christianity. Once again Iphigeneia is portrayed as the centre of the undertaking, together with her brother, now called Beor. He has received, at Iphigeneia's request, a certain ordination from the apostle, '*de manu Matthaei*', and succeeds his uncle but reigns in line with his father.[49] Iphigeneia is depicted as the mother of the Christian church in the entire region of Ethiopia: 'And all the provinces of Ethiopia were filled with catholic churches, until the present day, thanks to Iphigeneia'.[50]

In contrast, Iphigeneia plays a modest role in the liturgical texts. In the prayers from the Old Spanish mass for Matthew's feast-day, several figures of the *Passion* are mentioned by name, such as Prince Eufranor, who was resurrected by the apostle (LMS 940), as well as Hirtacus who prepared the apostle's martyrdom (LMS 942). Not a word is spent on Iphigeneia, the model virgin who lived by the patronage of the apostle and dedicated her life gratefully to the promotion of his cult. No use is made of this appealing figure to urge the medieval faithful to greater enthusiasm for a powerful patron saint. The same goes for the hymns of the Salernitan archbishop and poet Alfanus: he mentions Hirtacus (hymn *Laetare mater parturis quae filios*, stanza 6)[51] and the resurrected prince together with his parents (hymn *Adesto, Sancte Spiritus*, stanza 4),[52] even the evil ruler's longing to marry (hymn *Adesto Sancte Spiritus*, stanza 4) but keeps silent about the object of Hirtacus's desire and does not mention the virgin-princess. But she does not remain completely invisible. The Old Spanish hymn *Christe tu rerum opifexque operum* presents Iphigeneia as the ruler succeeding her father next to her brother (stanza 8).[53] Stanza 9 tells the full story of Hirtacus's attempt to marry Iphigeneia, 'although the bountiful woman lived in

---

49 *Passio Matthaei*, c. 15: … *de manu Matthaei fuerat gratiam Domini consecutus*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 667. In the Passion it is not made clear if there has been a second vision in which Beor is consecrated by Matthew, as happened in the case of Polymius in the account on Bartholomew, nor if this *gratiam Domini* includes an ecclesiastical ordination or rather provides the new ruler with a sacral dignity. This will be discussed further below.

50 *Passio Matthaei*, c. 15: *Omnes quoque provinciae Aethiopum ecclesiis repletae sunt catholicis, usque in hodiernum diem, per Iphigeneiam*. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 668.

51 Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, pp. 86–87.

52 Ibid., p. 88.

53 Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 219–221.

community / with two hundred virgins, veiled with the sacred veil'.[54] Matthew's defence of the virgins is related succinctly in stanza 10:

> Upon this Matthew arose against Hirtacus and said:
> 'It is not permitted to a slave to marry a king's bride,
> nor is it permitted that Christ's bride be given
> in marriage to you'. Because of this Hirtacus immediately commanded
> that the apostle be killed by a blow of the sword.[55]

In stanza 11, the construction of a church for Matthew financed by Iphigeneia is told, and in the subsequent stanza the miraculous protection of the community of virgins against Hirtacus's fire is related: 'The king commanded that the virgins be burnt, but the fire / burnt the king's palace because of a turn of the wind'.[56] Iphigeneia's brother takes over yet again. His felicitous reign under the sacred authority of the apostle is mentioned in stanza 13, as well as the spread of Christianity through Ethiopia—but Iphigeneia's pioneering work in this, underlined in the *Passion*, is not repeated in the liturgical text. The woman that was depicted in the apocryphal narrative as the missionary next to the apostle, co-founder of the church and indeed the mother of the regional Christian community, loses this fundamental role in a ritual context. In most of the liturgical texts she is not mentioned at all and remains hidden behind her father and his wife, and her brother. The only text that does mention her, the Old Spanish hymn *Christe tu rerum opifexque operum*, is much more reticent than the apocryphal narrative. The hymn mentions Iphigeneia and her role in the story of the apostle's mission and martyrdom repeatedly, as well as her share in the building of a church in honour of Matthew, but ultimately refrains from granting her the same credits as the apocryphon does by omitting her name in the final remarks on the dissemination of Christianity through Ethiopia. In this the liturgical text deviates interestingly from the apocryphal narrative.

Another apostle surrounded by women is Philip, who is accompanied by his daughters. The role of these daughters, both in apocryphal and liturgical sources, is very different from the role of Iphigeneia in the case of Matthew. Several scholars have written on Philip's daughters

---

[54] *Cui bis centum almae in coenobia / Virgines erant sacra cum velamina.*

[55] *Ad haec Matthaeus Irtaco exortus est: / Fas non est regis sponsam servo ducere / Nec Christi sponsam fas est tuae copulae / Iungi. Ob hoc mox Irtacus apostoli / Percuti iussit pectus ictu gladii.*

[56] *Virgines uri rex praecepit, sed flamma / Ventus invergens cremat regis atria.* Cfr *Passio Matthaei*, c. 15. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 666.

and on the development of and changes in their function.[57] In the Latin tradition, the Eusebian account of Philip's burial in Hierapolis together with two of his daughters (HE III.31.3) is copied. It is found in the Latin lists of apostles: the *Breviarium apostolorum* and Isidore's *De ortu et obitu*. The daughters are not mentioned in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* or in the medieval martyrologies of Ado and Usuard. Ado even seems to correct the early Christian tradition in his *libellus* for the commemoration of 1 May by writing *quique apud Hieropolim Asiae civitatem dormivit, cum patribus suis beato fine sepultus*, thus replacing the daughters by forefathers.[58] Nevertheless the Latin apocryphal account of Philip's Acts in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias mentions the apostle's (two) daughters, claiming that they were most holy virgins and pioneers in the foundation of a community of virgins (*virgines sacratissimae, per quas Deus multitudinem virginum lucratus est*)[59]—very similar to Iphigeneia in Matthew's Passion—and, following Eusebius, that they were buried next to their father in Hierapolis. Philip's daughters are absent in the liturgical prayers for mass and in the chants of the divine office, but they are mentioned in one of the hymns in honour of Philip, the Old Spanish *Fulget coruscans*.[60] In the eighth stanza of this hymn, a picture is sketched of Philip's death, which is a serene death, in which he is accompanied by two of his virgin daughters: *Ex tunc ad Deum emisit spiritum / et duae eius virgines et filiae*.

The role of Philip's daughters in a liturgical context is very modest: in all the texts examined in chapter 3 they are mentioned only once. They have a distinctive role as dedicated virgins. Yet the role granted to them by the apocryphal narrative as founders of a community of virgins is not repeated in the liturgical compositions. Here the same picture emerges as in the liturgical portrayal of Matthew's female companion Iphigeneia. Liturgical texts that follow the apocryphal narrative very closely do mention the apostle's female companion(s), in some cases they even pay extensive attention to her share in the apostle's missionary work. But they deviate from the apocryphal narrative at those points where the latter attributes a major role in the foundation of the Christian community to women.

---

[57] Matthews, *Philip: apostle and evangelist*, pp. 23–34; Bovon et al., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe*, p. 48; Amsler, 'Actes de Philippe. Introduction', pp. 1181–1184.

[58] Dubois (ed.), *Martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 6.

[59] *Gesta Philippi*, c. 4. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 741.

[60] Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 228–229.

4.2. *The royal companion*

Many of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles in the Latin tradition give evidence of a special bond between the apostle and the local ruler. In the end this is very often a negative relation of enmity and opposition, leading to the apostle's martyrdom which is invariably initiated by the local ruler, particularly after a take-over of power or a change of the scene. But in many instances, the apostle first wins the local ruler for his case. More than once the ruler's conversion leads to the baptism of an entire region: where a ruler converts, a whole people is converted. And in some cases this even ends in an ecclesiastical ordination of the local ruler, who is appointed by the apostle as the spiritual leader of the newly founded church after the apostle's own departure or death. This fusion of secular and ecclesiastical power in one person is a particularly interesting feature of the apocryphal narratives of the Passions of Bartholomew and of Matthew. In the case of Bartholomew, the apostle ordains the secular ruler as bishop. In the case of Matthew, different traditions pay attention to the ecclesiastical ministry of the local ruler. In the Greek *Martyrium of Matthew* and its Latin translation, the local ruler is initially Matthew's main opponent but is later, after Matthew's death, converted and assigned ecclesiastical ministries, as are his relatives, both male and female. The king becomes a priest, his wife a deaconess, and his son a deacon. After the demise of the former bishop, the king is installed in the highest ecclesiastical office, and his son is already appointed as his successor. Here, as in the case of Bartholomew, secular and ecclesiastical power are combined in one person. In the Latin *Passion* as it is transmitted in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, Matthew wins the king and his wife over to his case by raising the couple's son from death. The Latin *Passion* does not mention an ecclesiastical ordination of the local rulers, apart from Iphigeneia's vows of chastity, but it refers to a kind of apostolic blessing of the young king Beor, as was shown above. The present section examines how the theme of ecclesiastical ordinations not only of secular rulers but also of their kinswomen is received in a liturgical context. The liturgical inclusion of the motive of Beor receiving the *gratiam domini* from the hand of the apostle will be examined as well.

In the case of Bartholomew, the local ruler Polymius is baptized with his relatives and his entire people (*Passion of Bartholomew*, c. 8.20). After the apostle's martyrdom, Bartholomew appears in a revelation in order

to ordain the king as bishop, with, as is explicitly added, the approval of the entire people:

> And it happened that the king, through a revelation and with the approval of the entire people and all the clergy, was ordained as a bishop by the apostle, and started to perform miracles in the name of the apostle.[61]

The reception of this very passage in the fifth antiphon of the *Laudes* for the feast-day of Bartholomew has been discussed in chapter 2. The liturgical text is remarkably exact in its reception of the apocryphal narrative, including the role of the apostle in the consecration of the king:

> On a revelation of the apostle, they ordained Polymius as bishop, who started to perform many miracles in the name of Christ.[62]

The only important shift with respect to the apocryphon touches the question, on whose authority the newly installed *antistes* performs his miracles—the liturgical text seems to move the emphasis from the apostle to Christ. For the rest, the ordination of the secular ruler is taken over unchanged in the liturgical context.

The theme of the king-and-bishop is an eye-catching feature of the Latin Acts of apostles. It occurs in the Latin *Passion of Matthew* as well. Much could be said (and is written) about the religious character of kingship in the early Middle Ages, for which the figures of the Old Testament priest-and-king Melchizedek and of the anointed kings (Saul, David, Solomon) functioned as an important model.[63] However, the motive of a king or emperor being consecrated as a priest or bishop is more rare, even suspect.[64] Indeed, the first Christian emperor Constantine comes very near, being presented as the 'equal of the apostles', the '13th apostle' or the *apostolus apostolorum*. Constantine summoned

---

[61] *Passio Bartholomaei*, c. 9.24: *Factum est autem per reuelationem, uniuerso populo adclamante et omni clero, ab apostolo ordinatus rex episcopus et coepit in nomine apostoli signa facere.* Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 150.

[62] *Revelante apostolo, Polymium ordinarunt antistitem, qui multa in Christi nomine coepit miracula facere.*

[63] The importance of Melchizedek to Byzantium is questioned by J. Engemann, 'Melchisedech. Frühchristentum', in LMA VI, col. 491; to medieval thought on kingship and rule by K. Niehr, 'Melchisedech. Mittelalter', in LMA VI, col. 491–492, but this is refuted by the thorough study of G. Dagron, *Emperor and priest. The imperial office in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003 = Past and Present publications. Translation of *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin*, Paris, 1996). Many thanks to Claudia Rapp for drawing my attention to this study.

[64] Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, p. 3.

and presided episcopal councils, and prepared a final resting place for himself in the mausoleum of the Holy Apostles. This sanctuary, which he himself had built, housed relics of all 12 apostles. The place for the imperial sarcophagus was in the middle of the apostles.[65] Rightfully, Dagron points to the awkward situation that Constantine's claims created: did the fact that he chose this place in the middle of the apostles suggest that he saw himself as Christ's equal?[66] Whatever Constantine's intentions, Dagron accentuates the rhetorical aspects of the emperor's claims. Constantine is not one of the apostles, but in *mimesis* equals the apostles. He is a 'quasi-apostle', in the 'rhetoric of as if' that had been developed for the purpose.[67] Despite the crucial role of the emperor in the economy of salvation, the *sacerdotium* and *imperium* remained, even in rhetoric, carefully separated.[68] Mayke de Jong seems to confirm this thesis in her analysis of the Frankish kings and emperors in the 8th and 9th centuries, most notably Charlemagne.[69] With Constantine as an important model,[70] king and bishops together formed the college of 'managers of salvation'[71] that took care and felt responsible for the salvation of the people.[72] Charlemagne and his bishops shared the ministry (*ministerium*) of the Christian people (*populus christianus*).[73] However, despite the deeply religious role of the king in Frankish polity, the fusion of imperial and spiritual power in one person as it is pictured in the *passiones* of Matthew and Bartholomew does not occur. In this respect, the apocryphal narratives can be seen as a literary reflection of the rhetoric of the christianisation of the world, actualized for the first time in

---

[65] Ibid., p. 139.

[66] Ibid., p. 141.

[67] Ibid., pp. 131, 141.

[68] Ibid., p. 3.

[69] Recent work on the Christian kingship of the early Middle Ages by her hand includes M. de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl, and H. Reimitz (eds.), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 2006), pp. 113–132; ead., 'Sacrum palatium et ecclesia. L'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58 (2003), 1243–1269; ead., 'Charlemagne's church', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 103–135; ead., *The penitential state. Authority and atonement in the age of Louis the Pious, 814–800* (Cambridge, forthcoming 2009), esp. chapter 2. Many thanks to Mayke de Jong for giving me insight into this latter work before publication.

[70] De Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', p. 116.

[71] Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, p. 3.

[72] De Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', pp. 122, 125, 131–132; ead., 'Sacrum palatium', pp. 1253–1254.

[73] De Jong, 'Charlemagne's church', p. 108.

Constantine and particularly visible in the Carolingian 9th century. In the apocryphal literature, *imperium* and *sacerdotium* are no longer separated. The ruler, as the apostle's successor, bears crown and pallium together. There is no need to speak of the ruler as the apostle's equal in the 'rhetoric of as if', for the apostle appoints him really as his representative and successor. The apocryphal narratives are much less reticent than the history of Christianity would actually allow for.[74] In unrestrained images they picture the essentially Christian state. It is interesting to see that the composers of liturgical prayers did not hesitate to copy these ideas, as is clear from the case of Polymius in the examples given above.

The case of Matthew is less clear. The role of the virgin Iphigeneia in the liturgical texts has already been discussed above. More complicated and more vague is the question of Iphigeneia's brother. According to the *Passion*, the apostle laid his hands on Beor and he received the grace of the Lord (*fratrem Iphigeniae, nomine Beor, qui per Iphigeniam germanam suam, de manu Matthaei fuerat gratiam domini consecutus*).[75] It is not clear whether the *Passion* suggests that Beor, like Polymius in the *Passion of Bartholomew* and like his parallel in the Latin *Martyrium of Matthew*, received some sort of ecclesiastical ordination, or rather an apostolic blessing as the foundation for his reign as a new young ruler. A third option might be that reference is made here to Beor's baptism, at the instigation of his sister. In this case, a liturgical text seems to give a further key to understand the apocryphal narrative, even though it does not really solve the problem. In the Old Spanish hymn for Matthew's feast-day, *Christe tu rerum opifexque operum*, the passage of the *Passion* is referred to in stanza 13:

> Iphigeneia's brother then took the kingdom,
> who carried the name Beor after his baptism.
> The holy martyr himself had anointed him with chrism.[76]

The phrase *quem sanctus martyr unxeratque chrismate* gives an explanation for the more cryptic *de manu Matthaei fuerat gratiam domini consecutus*. The apostle anointed the prince with holy chrism. Yet this specification is of partial help, for it does not solve the question as to what kind of

[74] Cfr Dagron, *Emperor and priest*, p. 131.

[75] *Passio Matthaei*, c. 15. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 667.

[76] *Regnum hoc cepit frater Effigeniae, / Beor gestabat nomen ex baptismate, / Quem sanctus martyr unxeratque chrismate.*

anointment the apostle used. Was it part of the ritual of the installation of a bishop? No mention is made of any ecclesiastical ministry of Beor, either in the *Passion* or in the liturgical text. We can safely delete this option. Was it the unction with chrism after baptism? The context of the stanza seems to point to this solution, since mention is made of Beor's baptism in the previous sentence. However, the same can be said for his entry to the kingdom, which could as well be sealed with the ritual of anointing. Still, the option of baptism seems to be the most likely solution, which is most in line with the phrasing of the *Passion*. *Gratiam domini* could easily be interpreted as baptism, rather than episcopal or royal consecration. Even if the apocryphal text and its reception in a liturgical context give room for more than one interpretation, this does not really alter the meaning of the texts. The apocryphal narrative seems to confirm the apostolic approval of Beor's succession of Hirtacus, which implies the continuation of the Christian reign after the evil intermezzo. This is confirmed and even expanded by the liturgical hymn, where the reign of Beor is presented as the bloom of Christianity's youth in Ethiopia.

5. *From eyewitness to bloodwitness*

At the end of the gospel of Luke, Jesus indicates his disciples as 'witnesses': *vos autem estis testes horum* (Lk. 24:48). Again, in Luke's account of the ascension, the disciples are explicitly appointed 'witnesses', distributing the gospel from Jerusalem to the entire world: *et eritis mihi testes in Hierusalem et in omni Iudaea et Samaria et usque ad ultimum terrae* (Acts 1:8). The original meaning of the word *martyr*, witness, is applicable to the apostles in a particularly pregnant way. The apostles are eyewitnesses of Christ, not only as his disciples and companions during his earthly life but also, after Mary Magdalene and the other women, as first witnesses of the resurrection and as eyewitnesses therefore of the risen Christ. Because of this quality they are sent out to preach the gospel. To this particular kind of being a witness a second, even more poignant kind was added in the case of almost all apostles, namely their martyrdom. Most of the apostles were not only eyewitnesses but also bloodwitnesses, and ended their life in martyrdom; a peaceful death is attributed to John the Evangelist and, in some traditions, Philip. In the present section, the characterization of the apostles as both eyewitnesses and bloodwitnesses will be examined. How did this characteriza-

tion take shape in the apocryphal narratives and how does it develop in the liturgical texts?

In his comparative examination of the canonical and the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, François Bovon marks as one of the main differences the fact that 'in the apocryphal acts the life of each apostle finds its apex in martyrdom'.[77] The only exception, according to Bovon, is the apostle John. As we have already observed in chapter 3, the Latin tradition of apostle apocrypha, following a variety of early Christian historiographic sources, marks another exception: the apostle Philip.[78] In his study, Bovon underlines the importance of the canonical gospels rather than the canonical Acts in the matter of martyrdom: Christ himself is the proto-martyr, followed by those who mean to imitate him.[79] In the liturgical texts, we have seen plenty of references to the example of Christ imitated by the apostle in his martyrdom.

Hansjörg Auf der Maur points to the increasing importance of the Christian martyr as a type (*typos*) or category of saints in the early Christian period, which is clearly reflected by the development of the liturgical sanctoral cycle. The celebration of the apostles as martyrs, except John, is an example of this development, 'obwohl man über das Lebensende der meisten nichts wußte'.[80] According to Auf der Maur, a liturgical celebration of individual apostles became possible and current only after the general attribution of martyrdom to every single apostle, 'deren Todesschicksal ja historisch gesehen im Dunkel liegt'.[81] Apparently, Auf der Maur did not reckon with the apocrypha as sources of information for the liturgical celebration of the apostles.

In section 3 of this chapter, the fact that the office of preaching was a core assignment of all apostles has been illustrated with prayers from various common masses for the commemoration of one or several apostles, among them the second prayer of the *Missa in natale unius apostuli et martyris* of the early medieval *Missale Gothicum*. The same mass contains two other prayers in which martyrdom is similarly presented as a general feature of the life of an apostle (as is already indicated by the title of the mass):

[77] Bovon, 'Canonical and apocryphal Acts of apostles', p. 176.
[78] Philippart as well mentions the exception of John, without referring to a tradition of Philip as a non-martyr. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 89.
[79] Bovon, 'Canonical and apocryphal Acts of apostles', p. 177.
[80] Harnoncourt and Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, vol. 2.1, p. 111.
[81] Ibid., p. 115. See also p. 184, where Auf der Maur gives a more precise indication of the beginnings of the liturgical cult of the apostles: 5th to 7th centuries.

Lord God, miraculous splendour of all the saints, who has consecrated this day with the martyrdom of your blessed apostle *N*, grant your church to rejoice worthily in such a wonderful apostle, so that we by your mercy may be helped by his example and his merits. Through our Lord your son.[82]

Prayer of sacrifice. It is truly worthy and right that we praise you, omnipotent God, particularly during the feast of your blessed apostle *N*, during which his glorious blood was shed on behalf of Christ. And his venerable and annually recurring solemn commemoration is forever and ever, and always new, for even in the sight of your majesty the demise of your righteous remains precious (Ps. 115:15), and the increase of joy is restored when the origins of eternal happiness are celebrated anew. We humbly beseech you, omnipotent God, that you deign to give us your apostle *N* as a mediator for our sins, as a patron for our necessities, so that he who shed his holy blood on behalf of the truth may himself receive our prayers before the face of your majesty. And grant that we may please him so through the ministry of our obedience, that when we beseech him here on earth, he may deign to commend us to our Lord Jesus Christ in heaven. To whom all angels sing ...[83]

The emphasis on martyrdom in this common mass in commemoration of an apostle seems to confirm Auf der Maur's thesis that the liturgical celebration of the individual apostles was *qualitate qua* the celebration of a martyr. The same idea is expressed by the fact that the texts for the feast-day of the apostle Matthew were used in many common offices for a martyr or a group of martyrs. The liturgical commemoration of an apostle and that of a martyr became interchangeable.

In the case studies of the preceding chapters, there is one exception to this rule: the apostle Philip. Bovon does not mention him as an example of a peaceful death next to John, because he bases his comparison on the ancient Greek apocryphal Acts, where a *Martyrium* is

---

[82] *Missale Gothicum*, 380: *Domine deus, omnium sanctorum splendor mirabilis, qui hunc diem beati apostuli tui illius martyrio consecrasti, da eclesiae tuae digne de tanto gaudere apostulo, ut aput misericordiam tuam et exemplum eius iuuemur et meritis. Per dominum nostrum filium tuum.* Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 496.

[83] Missale Gothicum, 383: *Contestatio. Vere dignum et iustum est te laudare, omnipotens deus, praecipue in beati apostuli tui illius festiuitate, in qua gloriosus eius sanguis pro Christo effusus est, cuius uenerabilis annuae recursionis sollempnitas et perpetua semper et noua est, quia et in conspectu tuae maiestatis permanet mors tuorum praeciosa iustorum et restaurantur incrementa laetitiae cum felicitatis aeternae recoluntur exordia. Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens deus, ut nobis donare digneris apostulum tuum illum pro peccatis nostris intercessorem, necessitatibus patronum, ut qui pro ueritate sacrum sanguinem fudit, ipse ante conspectu maiestatis tuae uota nostra suscipiat, et ita ei obsequiorum nostrorum officiositate placeamus, ut dum nos ei supplicamus in terris, ille nos commendare dignetur in caelis domino Iesu Christo. Cui merito omnes angeli.* Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 497.

added to the *Acts of Philip*. In early Christian historiographic literature, by contrast, Philip's death is presented as a very peaceful event. Eusebius is the first to tell about Philip's resting place in Hierapolis, where he is buried with his daughters, without mentioning a martyrdom.[84] Whether or not inspired by this tradition, an account of martyrdom is also lacking in the Latin *Gesta Philippi* as included in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias: *Haec et his similia praedicans apostolus domini Philippus, annorum octuaginta septem, perrexit ad Dominum et in ea civitate Hierapoli positum est sanctum corpus eius*.[85] The same is at stake in the medieval martyrologies of Ado and Usuard, which do not follow the *Breviarium apostolorum* or Isidore's *De ortu et obitu* but, rather, correspond to Eusebius and Pseudo-Abdias. Despite the depictions of Philip's peaceful death at the age of 87 and his burial in Hierapolis, most of the liturgical texts approach Philip as a martyr. Hardly any of them specify the kind of his martyrdom, limiting themselves to the vague mention of *martyr* and *martyrium*, such as the masses in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus* and the Eighth-century Gelasian tradition: *Deus, qui hunc diem beatorum apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi martirio consecrasti* (GelV 479). The Milanese and Old Spanish traditions do the same. The *Sacramentarium Vicennense* states to 'celebrate the feast of their passion today', referring to Philip and James as a pair joined by martyrdom. Likewise the blessings in the *Canterbury Benedictional* emphasize Philip's martyrium. Although the chants of the divine office do not explicitly mention Philip's or James's martyrdom as such, the use of Ps. 115:15: *preciosa in conspectu tua mors sanctorum* speaks for itself and indicates that both Philip and James were ranged among the army of martyrs. There is one exception among the liturgical texts. The Old Spanish hymn *Fulget coruscans* does not treat Philip as a martyr, but describes the apostle's peaceful death after he had founded and instructed the Christian congregation in Scythia. It is easy to trace the source of this depiction: the hymn *Fulget coruscans* neatly follows the account of the *Gesta Philippi* as included in the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. However, it is more difficult to trace the sources of the other liturgical texts. The prayers in the Eighth-century Gelasian, Milanese, or later Spanish (*Vicennense*) books, as well as the chants in the early antiphonals, all depict Philip and James as martyrs, but they do not in any way refer to the particularities of James's fall from the pinnacle of the temple, or to Philip's lapidation or crucifixion, as recounted

[84] Eusebius, HE III.31.3.
[85] *Gesta Philippi*, c. 4. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 742.

for instance in the lists of the apostles that precede the medieval martyrologies. What, then, inspired the composers of these liturgical texts to celebrate both Philip and James as martyrs? Was it the general typology of apostles that dominated their motives? Are these liturgical compositions an indication that the quality of bloodwitness outweighed the status of eyewitness?

As Bovon remarks in his comparative study of canonical and apocryphal Acts, the final act of the apostle, the act of martyrdom which formed the end of his terrestrial life, can be seen as the most perfect imitation of Christ and thus as the fulfilment of the gospel.[86] Elsewhere I demonstrated the close relation between Christ and the *vicarius Christi* in the case of the apostle Andrew.[87] In the late 7th-century mass for his feast-day in the *Missale Gothicum*, the passage from the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew* that recounts the apostle's crucifixion and his preaching to the people from the cross is commemorated. In this context, the apostle is described as 'the redeemer of the heart of the people' (*reparatorem mentis*). The word *reparator*, a rare synonym for *redemptor*, is in a Christian context almost exclusively used to indicate Christ the Saviour.[88] In the early medieval Gallican mass for Andrew, it is used to present Andrew as redeemer of the people. This way of presenting the apostle in a liturgical context as an imitator of Christ, even so that he becomes a second saviour, is not unique, as we will see in the following.

The presentation of the apostle's martyrdom as imitation of Christ, or even as an attempt to equal Christ and to become a new saviour is most visible in the liturgy of Bartholomew and Matthew. In the case of Bartholomew, the apostle's martyrdom is depicted as an imitation of Christ in the Old Spanish mass for his feast-day.[89] Bartholomew's passion is in harmony with his teachings (LMS 843: *[Bartholomaeus] doctrinam, quam miraculis et predicamentis instituit, hanc etiam effusione sanguinis laureauit; et regulam, quam didicit domino passo, hanc ceteris completam ostendit mirabiliter in se ipso*). Because of the offer of his life, Bartholomew is depicted in the same prayer as the true lamb (*uerus agnus*), sent among the crowd of wolves. Here the liturgical song *Agnus dei* seems to resound (cfr John 1:29): Bartholomew's acts and passion make him apt to 'solve

---

[86] See footnote 79 above.

[87] Rose, 'Apocryphal traditions in medieval Latin liturgy', pp. 127–128.

[88] A. Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1966), pp. 375–376.

[89] Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, pp. 296–301.

us from our sins, and to make us worthy before you [o God] in your service'.[90] Another poignant indication of Bartholomew's proximity to Christ the saviour is expressed in the hymn of Leo Melfitanus in honour of Bartholomew, where it uses the word *mercator* to indicate the apostle in the ninth stanza:

> Great saviour and holy apostle,
> hear our incessant praises.
> Cleanse us from our sins and shame,
> most loving judge, destroy the dark and envious serpent
> and let it be covered by sulphur three or four times.[91]

The word *mercator* is rare in Christian usage.[92] In the canonical New Testament the word occurs only in the Apocalypse, three times in the same chapter (18:3, 15, 23) and every time with the negative connotation 'the merchants of the earth'. In the literature of the *patres*, this negative connotation is copied, but the word is also used as a synonym of the Christ-epitheton *redemptor*.[93] The use of *mercator* in the hymn in honour of Bartholomew is especially conspicuous because the word occurs in a stanza formulating a prayer for the forgiveness of sins, so that it cannot be misunderstood. Just as the word *reparator* in the context of Andrew was used in order to depict Andrew as the redeemer of the people, the word *mercator* functions here to present the apostle Bartholomew as a redeemer next to Christ.

In the case of Matthew, the *illatio* of the Old Spanish mass (LMS 942) connects the apostle's life-restoring qualities (he resurrected the king's son) to his own martyrdom (he gave his life so that others could revive). The apostle fulfilled his martyrdom while he performed the sacrifice of the eucharist, and therefore he provides a double picture of imitation of Christ, a veritable Droste Effect:

---

[90] . . . *ita nos a piaculis soluat, et coram te in ministerio tuo dignos efficiat.*

[91] *Mercator, magne sancte seu apostole, / Exaudi nostra sepia preconia. / Linguens peccata nostra uel facinora, / Furuam serpentem et inuidam, toruissimam, / Iudex, subuerte ter quaterque sulfura.* Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), pp. 139–140.

[92] Blaise does not mention it in his *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954) nor in his *Vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques*. It is not treated by Mohrmann in her four-volume *Études sur le latin des chrétiens* (Rome, 1958–1977), nor by Ellebracht in her *Remarks on the vocabulary of the ancient orations in the Missale Romanum* (Nijmegen, 1963).

[93] Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmum 21*, 2.28: *ecce christus passus est, ecce mercator ostendit mercedem, ecce pretium quod dedit, sanguis eius fusus est.* Dekkers and Fraipont (eds.), *Enarrationes in psalmos*, vol. 38, p. 130; idem, *Sermo* 130 ('*O bone Mercator, eme nos*'); PL 38, col. 726.

> Justly, then, justly was he killed by the sword before the altar and not elsewhere, who accomplished his priesthood before the altar on behalf of the universal church; so that he became himself a sacrifice at the place where he offered the sacrifice for the people.[94]

In the act of the celebration of the eucharist, the apostle already represents Christ. But in the voluntary offering of his own life during this act, Matthew's way of sacrificing himself becomes an imitation of Christ in the purest sense, as is expressed even more sharply in the prayer *post sanctus* of the same mass (LMS 943):

> He offered you a sacrifice on the altar and right there he was killed by the sword of the persecutor; so that he who was accustomed to bring the offers to you on behalf of the faithful, became a sacrifice himself.[95]

The martyrdom of the apostles Simon and Jude is depicted as a deliberate imitation of Christ in the opening prayer of the Old Spanish mass for their feast-day:

> And the glory of faith has grown so far that it has become sweet to shed one's blood for the Lord. And by doing what they had seen their Master doing for all people, they gave an example for all of us to do.[96]

A call to martyrdom seems to emanate from this prayer as an apostolic example which asks for imitation by all Christians. In the Old Spanish mass in commemoration of the apostle James, an alternative is offered, namely martyrdom through the mortification of the flesh. The entire mass for James is, as has been demonstrated in chapter 3, coloured by the praise of virginity as a way to find eternal salvation. Particularly in the second prayer of this mass, martyrdom is equalled to the maintenance of a chaste body and a pure soul. Both lead to the reward of heavenly beatitude:

> Who however keeps his body and soul pure, as John and James did, he shall be deemed worthy to rest at the heart of Christ the Lord. But no one shall be able to rest at that holy heart who will not have struggled to guard his earthly home; and I think that Christ will justly receive in his

---

[94] *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* 942: *Merito quippe, merito non alibi, sed ante altare gladio iugulatur, qui pro uniuersa ecclesia ante altare sacerdotio fungitur; ut ubi uictimas offerebat pro populo, illic ipse uictima fieret Christo.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 346.

[95] *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, 943: *Sacrificium offert tibi super altario, et illico persecutoris feritur gladio; ut qui tibi pro fratribus offerre uictimas consueuerat, ipse etiam uictima fieret.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 347.

[96] Mozarabic Fragment 1478: *Quando usque adeo fidei gloria creuit, ut dulce fuerit pro eodem domino sanguinem fundere. Et quod pro uniuersis facere uiderint magistrum, hoc illi faciendo ceteris reliquerint faciendi exemplum.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 538.

> rest only those who are either recommended by the integrity of their soul or justly sacrificed by the shedding of their blood.[97]

The prayer thus is a clear example of the reception and adaptation of apocryphal material in a liturgical context in order to create a new contextualized meaning for those who celebrate the liturgy of the apostle. The medieval faithful, who are invited to imitate the apostles, both eyewitnesses and bloodwitnesses of Christ, are taught in the liturgy that the glorious martyrdom of the apostles is within reach and can be imitated by ordinary people through a life of chastity and purity of soul. The liturgical context adds to the significance of the apocryphal text not only because it calls the apostolic life to mind, but also because it creates ways for the faithful to imitate this *vita apostolica*.

6. *Apostles as individual saints and apostles as a collegium*

Pierre Jounel emphasizes the importance of the celebration of the apostles as a collegium, which surpasses their individual cults, in his study of the cult of the apostles in Rome:

> On ne saurait mieux dire l'importance du collège des Douze aux origines de la prédication évangélique. Le fait d'appartenir au groupe des douze assises sur lesquelles repose le rempart de la Jérusalem nouvelle (*Ap. 21,14*) compte davantage que l'activité ou la sainteté individuelle de chacun de ses membres. C'est aussi la conviction qui donna naissance à la fête collective des Apôtres, que seul l'Orient a conservée le 30 juin.[98]

The same concern of presenting the apostles as a group seems to be expressed by the early medieval passionaries which put the accounts of the apostles' martyria together, instead of arranging them according to the calendar.[99] Finally, the development of common masses and offices for the liturgical commemoration of one apostle or a group of apostles seems to imply a similar approach to the apostle as a category or type (*typus*) of saint, to whom particular apostolic characteristics are attributed such as martyrdom and the gift of teaching.

---

[97] *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* 138: *Qui enim carnem mentemque suam gestat, ut Iohannes et Iacobus, pudicam, pectoris Christi domini esse merebitur recuba[re]. Nec enim quispiam in sanctum pectus poterit recumbere, qui non suum domicilium mundum certauerit custodire; illosque solum puto quod digne suscipiat Christus in requiem, quos aut integritas mentis commendat, aut cruoris efussio iuste delibat.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, pp. 47–48.

[98] Jounel, 'Le culte des apôtres à Rome', p. 178.

[99] Cfr Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, pp. 87–88.

An interesting discussion of the development of the cult of the apostles—both as a group and individually—in early medieval Rome, Gaul, and England, is found in an article by Alan Thacker.[100] Thacker describes the development and importance of the liturgical cult of the apostles as a group in Rome in the early Middle Ages, even if it remained always in the shadow of the cult of Peter and Paul.[101] Outside Rome, interest in the apostles is shown from the late 6th century onwards in a literary expression, specifically in the collections of accounts on the apostles' acts and martyrdom such as the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias. In Gaul the focus is more on the apostles as individuals than as a group. Separate feast-days for the individual apostles are found in the Gallican liturgical books from the late 7th and early 8th centuries,[102] and churches in Milan and Rome receive the name of an individual apostle instead of the Twelve.[103] Early medieval England combines a Gaul-like interest in the individual apostles with the Roman approach to the Twelve as a group.[104] Thacker links the revival of interest in the apostles as a group as well as the development of individual apostles' feasts in Anglo-Saxon England to the 'preoccupation with the apostolic status of contemporary ecclesiastical leaders'. This is expressed in the veneration of Gregory the Great as 'of apostolic standard'.[105]

As is visible from the case studies of this book, individual cults of the apostles developed in the Middle Ages next to the approach of the apostles as a group. In this section, the relation between the apostle as an individual and as a typus, one of the Twelve, is sketched. Two passages of the gospel according to Matthew are important to this section. First there are the verses in Mt. 16 (18–19) where Peter is declared the rock on which the church is built, and the keys of heaven are given to him as a symbol of the binding character of his judgement:

> [18]And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it. [19]I will give you the keys

100 Thacker, 'In search of saints', p. 265*s*.

101 Ibid., p. 267.

102 Ibid., p. 269. Thacker's suggestion that the development of liturgical cults is stimulated by the literary interest in the apostles as expressed in the apocryphal writings might as well be turned over. The Latin apostle apocrypha might be created in order to provide the liturgical offices with material which the canonical Bible does not offer.

103 Thacker, 'In search of saints', p. 269.

104 Ibid., pp. 269–271.

105 Ibid., pp. 273–274.

> of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.[106] (NRSV)

In the first section of this chapter the apostolic foundation of the church was at stake in a general sense. The communal liturgical commemoration of the apostles and the way they had founded the worldwide *ecclesia* in the past seems to have contributed to the formation of the concrete Christian community in the medieval present. The use of or reference to Mt. 16 in liturgical texts gives very specific evidence of an image of the apostles as the foundation of the church. Even though Jesus addresses only Peter in the biblical verse, in the liturgical imagination the apostles form this foundation together, as a collegium. Several prayers use this image of the apostolic foundation. In the case of Bartholomew it is the second blessing in the *Canterbury Benedictional* which turns to this image: 'God, who has given the church to exist on the apostolic foundation ...'.[107] The same source, in its blessing for Matthew, stresses the solidness of the church as it is founded on the apostles:

> May God, who has strengthened the foundations of the holy church with the particular steadiness of the apostles, bless you, likewise conjoined with a token of eternal blessedness. Amen.
>
> And may God, who mildly received the blessed Matthew, sitting in the tax-booth and meditating over the benefits of mortal life, in the group of apostles, benignly sow you between the company of the angels. Amen.[108]

Connected to the apostolic foundation, the rock on which the church is built, is the apostolic power to loose and bind sins. Here as well, Peter alone is addressed in the gospel account, but in the liturgical reception of Mt. 16:19 all 12 apostles are assigned with the power over sins. This is clearly expressed in the Beneventan hymn *Gaudium mundi, Christe* in honour of Bartholomew, where the fourth stanza sings:

> Athlete of God, mercifully assist

---

[106] [18]*et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversum eam;* [19]*et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum et quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum in caelis et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum in caelis.*

[107] *Deus qui aecclesiam tuam in apostolicis tribuisti consistere fundamentis, quesumus ut beatus Bartholomeus pro nobis imploret apostolus, ut a nostris reatibus absoluti, a cunctis etiam periculis exuamur.* Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 106.

[108] *Deus qui apostolorum speciali constantia sanctae ecclesiae corroborauit fundamenta signaculo aeterne beatitudinis benedicat uobis simul adunatis. Amen. Quique beatum Matheum in thelonio sedentem, et mortalis naturae lenocinia meditantem clemens in collegio adsciuit apostolorum uos benignus interserat in consortio angelorum. Amen.* Woolley (ed.), *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 110.

> those who celebrate your feast devotedly
> and dissolve the chains of sin
> with your great power.[109]

That the key of heaven is carried not only by Peter but by other apostles as well becomes also clear from the *inlatio* in the Old Spanish mass for Matthew's feast-day, which concludes with the prayer:

> May he open for us the door to the heavenly kingdom who was elected from heaven to become an apostle.[110]

The same is visible in the prayer introducing the *Pater noster* in the same mass (LMS 945), which considers the entire group of apostles as receivers of the keys of heaven, instead of Peter alone. This is directly linked to the presentation of the apostles as a collegium in their function of judges over the 12 tribes (Mt. 19:28):

> . . . and they received the keys of the kingdom of heaven who you establish as judges over the 12 tribes of Israel with you, when you will be seated on the throne of your majesty to judge.[111]

In the second, related passage from the gospel according to Matthew (19:28) the collegium of 12 apostles is presented as the judges of the 12 tribes of Israel:

> 28Jesus said to them, 'Truly I tell you, at the renewal of all things, when the Son of Man is seated on the throne of his glory, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel'.[112] (NRSV)

The image of the 12 apostles sitting on 12 thrones to judge 'the tribes of Israel' recurs frequently in the liturgical texts for the commemoration of the individual apostles. First another passage from the Old Spanish mass in honour of Matthew can be added, namely from the second prayer:

---

109 *Athleta Dei, tuum qui devote / Celebrant festum, miseratus fove / Scelerum atque potestate magna / Vincla dissolve.* Dreves (ed.), *Hymnarius Severinianus* (AH 14A), pp. 113–114.

110 *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* 942: *Celestis regni nobis patefaciat aditus, qui ut apostolus fieret celitus fuit electus.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 346.

111 *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* 945: . . . *et ipsi regni celorum acciperent claues, quos tecum, quum ad iudicandum sederis supra sedem maiestatis tue, duodecim tribus Israel constituis iudices.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 348.

112 28*Iesus autem dixit illis amen dico vobis quod vos qui secuti estis me in regeneratione cum sederit Filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim iudicantes duodecim tribus Israhel.*

> May he bring safety to us and to the dead the rest of eternal blessedness, who you deigned to constitute among all people as a judge over the 12 tribes with his fellow disciples.[113]

Another important example from the liturgy of Matthew is the hymn *Apostolorum nobili victoria*, composed by Alfanus of Salerno. The second and third stanzas depict the *senatus* of judges (stanza 2) and the *beatum principum collegium* to which Matthew belongs (stanza 3). In stanza 2, as in the prayer before the *Pater noster* for Matthew's mass in the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, the judgement of the apostles over Israel is directly connected to their power of the keys:

> This is the senate, that with the king of glory
> will sit as a judge on the final day
> to judge all the seed of Israel,
> and its authority knows to close the doors of heaven,
> and likewise to open them with the key of language.[114]

The collegium of apostles is repeated in Alfanus's hymn for Matthew *Laetare mater parturis quae filios* (stanza 2).

In the case of Bartholomew, the miracles and martyrdom of the apostle are depicted as a natural result of his calling and his discipleship. But martyrdom is not the only crown of the life of a disciple: the final reward is a seat among the 12 thrones in heaven:

> Is it surprising if he performs such wonderful acts, he who was plainly seen to have accepted the holy Spirit, and of whom we both believe and confess that he possesses the power to bind and loose sins, and who, after he had done all this mightily, humbly submitted his neck to the sword and was summoned to martyrdom by the example of his Master and our Lord? For it was not allowed that any of the disciples differed from his lord and master in the agony of the passion, but he who has shown himself to be similar to [his Master] as far as miracles are concerned, became similar also in the passion of death. And therefore our star Bartholomew shines in the entire world, and together with the other disciples he is seated on the 12 thrones in heaven as a judge.[115]

---

[113] *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* 940: *Conferat nobis tutelam et defunctis amenitatis eterne quietem, quem inter omnes cum propriis condiscipulis duodecim tribuum constituere dignatus es iudicem.* Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 344.

[114] *Hic est senatus, rege qui cum gloriae / die supremo praesidebit arbiter / ad iudicandum omne semen Israel, / cuius potestas novit altas claudere / seras, itemque clave linguae pandere.* Lentini and Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano*, p. 84.

[115] *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* 844: *Quid ergo mirum si hec et talia operatur, qui manifestum spiritum sanctum accepisse monstratur, et ligandi et soluendi peccata possidere potestatem creditur et fatetur; et qui ista omnia potens operatus, post, humilis collum subicit gladio qui ad passionem magistri

Likewise the hymn in the Mozarabic hymnal *Exaudi Christe nate nos patris pie* honours Bartholomew as a judge: 'He is a judge, a strong and good one, most holy'.[116]

Various composers of medieval apostle hymns seem to have been particularly fond of the image of the apostles as judges, since we come across the same figure in both hymns for Simon and Jude discussed in chapter 5. Thus the hymn *Omne genus monochordi* sings the praises of the apostles who became martyrs first, and then were made 'judges of the world' (*Mundi iudices effecti*). The hymn *Throno sedente principe* evokes in the very first line the image of a judge, sitting as a sovereign on his throne. Not all apostles are mentioned in this hymn, but the text states that among those who were chosen to sit in judgement were the brothers Simon and Jude:

> When the prince who was on the throne
> came to decide
> who should judge Israel
> there were two from one family . . .[117]
>
> they carried similar glory,
> the brotherly pledges of heaven:
> Blessed Simon and the sacred
> apostle Jude the Zelote.[118]

The examples given above underline the importance of Mt. 16 and 19 in the liturgical presentation of the apostles as a collegium. The privileges of foundation and judgement granted to Peter (Mt. 16) or the 12 apostles (Mt. 19) are interchangeable in a liturgical context. The authority to loose and bind is contributed explicitly to Matthew, Bartholomew, and Simon and Jude just as well as to Peter alone: the power of the key as well as the privilege of judgement belong to all 12 apostles.

---

sui et domini nostri prouocatus exemplo? Nec fas erat ut aliquis discipulorum in passionis agone a suo discreparet domino et magistro, sed qui similia eis se ostendebatur miraculis, similis etiam passione fieret mortis. Unde noster iste sicut ⟨sidus⟩ Bartholomeus toto claret in mundo, et cum ceteris condiscipulis in duodecim sedibus iudicans conlocatur in regno. Janini (ed.), *Liber missarum de Toledo*, vol. 1, p. 300.

[116] *Iudex et fortis et piis [pius], piissimus*. Blume (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (AH 27), p. 139.

[117] *Throno sedente principe / Cum venerit discernere, / Qui iudicabunt Israel, / Assunt duo uno germine*. Blume and Dreves (eds.), *Hymni inediti* (AH 43), p. 287.

[118] *Parem gerentes gloriam, / Germana caeli pignora, / Simon beatus cum sacro / Zelote Iuda apostolo*. Blume and Dreves (eds.), *Hymni inediti* (AH 43), p. 287.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EPILOGUE

In her book *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, Averil Cameron reflects on the relation between orthodoxy ('mainstream'—doctrine) and multiplicity ('elasticity'—stories) in the context of early Christian culture:

> The question then arises how this [Christian] world-view was constituted—whether the discussion should be confined to mainstream or "orthodox" works. It is an important part of my argument that the very multiplicity of Christian discourse, what one might call its elasticity, while of course from the church's point of view needing to be restrained and delimited, in fact constituted an enormous advantage in practical terms, especially in the early stages. (. . .) I therefore draw equally on the apocryphal and "popular" stories, which, it can be argued, were of as much importance in formulating the Christian synthesis as the canonical texts.[1]

Cameron applies the value of 'elastic' (narrative) traditions to the apocryphal works on the virgin Mary:

> In their [*sc.* Marian apocrypha] variation over the centuries they show the remarkable tenacity and elasticity of Christian discourse and its capacity to adapt to any social conditions.[2]

Elasticity, multiplicity, and diversity are characteristics usually attributed to the Christian community of the early ages. In general characterizations, medieval Christianity is often summarized as a stronghold of centralization and strive for uniformity—a period also where patristic authority is the norm and 'originality' or independent thinking are rare. The study of the medieval reception and transmission of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles and their use in the liturgy gives rise to a different view on these matters. Not only the evidence of the liturgical practice, as collected in the preceding chapters 2 to 5, but also the different attitudes towards apocrypha as described in chapter 1 of this book reflect a wealth of diversity rather than a monolithic point of view concerning liturgical practice, biblical heritage, and other expressions of Christian tradition.

[1] Cameron, *Christianity and rhetoric*, p. 9.
[2] Ibid., p. 106.

In the first chapter of this study, it has been made clear how apocrypha are generally seen in traditional scholarship as additions to the biblical canon, invented to satisfy the curiosity of the faithful about the life and deeds of Christ, his family, and his disciples. Apocrypha, with their fantastic miracle stories and fabulous features, were often labeled 'entertainment literature'. A feature propounded less often in modern scholarship, however, is their role as foundation myths of the Christian community at large and its doctrine. Nevertheless, the apocryphal Acts of the apostles, conceived in the age of Christianity's youth and subsequently reworked and transmitted to the ages of growth and development, served more than only educational or entertaining purposes. The incorporation of the apocryphal narrative in the liturgical commemoration of the apostles shows a distinct focus on the role of the latter as founders of the church. This aspect of the apocryphal Acts can be seen as the main incentive to support a wide dissemination of the apostles' cults. Likewise, the foundation myths as transmitted in the apocryphal Acts (far more extensive than in the Lukan Acts alone) can explain the eager interest in the apocryphal legends and the stimulation of their transmission.[3] The foundation work of the apostles is an important subject of medieval commemorative culture, where the exploits of the first followers of Christ in the past are presented in the here and now of the ritual community, in order to shape a shared identity and a perspective for this community's future life, here and hereafter. The inhabitants of late 11th-century Salerno, entangled in the cluttered shifts of power of their day, are gathered under a new identity: no longer 'Lombards', even less 'subjects of the Normans', but 'citizens of Matthew'. The apostle founds as it were a new community in Salerno: a community of people under a new ruler but collected, together with the ruler, under the protection and in the celebration of the patron saint.[4] The ritual reception and use of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles clearly reveals the importance of these narrative traditions as reflections of the creation of the worldwide *ecclesia*, presented in the medieval here and now as the commemorable past that indicates ways to the future.

The perspective of the apocryphal Acts as foundation myths as it surfaces in the ritual of the liturgy, necessitates and enables a return to

[3] This aspect is underlined by Alberto Ferreiro in his 2005 study on Simon Magus. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus*.

[4] See Alfanus of Salerno's hymn *Apostolorum nobili victoria*, discussed in chapters 4.6.1. and 6.1.

the apocryphal narratives themselves and to their transmission in the Latin world. For many questions remain with regard to the legendary sources used by the composers of liturgical texts, of which the so-called Collection of Pseudo-Abdias has been indicated in this study as the most important one. Questions to be solved in future studies concern the reason behind the collection of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in the early medieval period, and the background of their active reception and impressive success. Was the missionary and foundational activity of the apostles so interesting to an early medieval Latin public that a compilation of texts was created, even in a period before the bloom of the (liturgical) cult of most apostles and their relics in the West? If we can indeed date the compilation of the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias to the 6th century (a point to be verified), how does this interest in apostles relate to other products of hagiography in this period? How is this for the 9th century, where we find for the first time an intensive manuscript transmission of this Collection of Pseudo-Abdias? Even more important is the investigation of the contexts in which the *Virtutes apostolorum* were transmitted. A return to the complex manuscript transmission might produce new insights into the position of the apocryphal Acts in early medieval religious context. A purely textual approach will no longer suffice, for that matter. The reception of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in works of art of different genres will have to be incorporated in new studies of the medieval reception and transmission of apocrypha.[5]

The study of medieval statements dealing with apocryphal traditions, of which this book gives only a partial account, is another aspect that deserves more attention in future research. So far, it is important to note the balanced view of medieval authors on apocrypha. Although some medieval authors make use of specific patristic categories of canonical authority and doubtful tradition, others draw their conclusion on their own research of the different traditions, such as Bede after his comparison of the *Virtutes apostolorum* with the Lukan Acts (see chapter 1.3.4). Yet others develop an even more independent view on the apocryphal Acts by investigating the content of the latter, despite their dubious reputation. A slavish copying of the patristic arguments concerning these matters in the medieval period is out of the question. People like Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim and Notker of Skt Gallen provide their own nuanced opinion about the usefulness and value of the

[5] See the research plans briefly introduced in General Introduction, section 3.5 footnote 98.

apocryphal traditions, even if this opinion deviates from the authoritative patristic view. However, the conclusions of this part of the present study remain preliminary, as long as the history of the concept *apocryphus* remains to be written.[6]

Further research is necessary in order to open up possible re-evaluations of approaches to apocrypha in the medieval West. The balance between the orthodox mainstream and the elastic margin and its importance to the formation of Christian communities in the Middle Ages will have to be created anew.

[6] Cfr Mimouni, 'Le concept d'apocryphité', p. 17.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources, editions and translations

Abdias, Pseudo-

Alibert, D. et al. (trans.), 'Actes latins des apôtres (collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias)', in P. Geoltrain and J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), ÉAC 2, pp. 735–864.
Fabricius, J.A. (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1703).
Lazius, W., *Abdiae Babyloniae episcopi et apostolorum discipuli de historia certaminis apostolici libri decem* (Basel, 1552)
Nausea, F. (ed.), *Anonymi Philalethi Eusebiani in vitas, miracula, passiones apostolorum rhapsodiae* (Cologne, 1531).

Abelard, *Sic et non*. B. Boyer and R. McKeon (eds.), *Sic et non* (Chicago, 1977).
———, *Sermo de laude sancti Stephani protomartyris*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 178, cols. 573–582.
Acta Andreae. J.-M. Prieur (ed.), *Acta Andreae* (Turnhout, 1989 = CCSA 5–6).
Lipsius, R.A. and M. Bonnet (eds.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1891–1903; repr. Hildesheim, 1990).
Acta apostolorum armeniaca. L. Leloir (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres. Traduction de l'édition arménienne de Venise* (Turnhout, 1992 = CCSA 3–4).
Acta Iohannis. É. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis* (Turnhout, 1983 = CCSA 1–2).

Acta Petri

Actus Vercellenses (BHL 6656). Lipsius (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 1, pp. 45–103.
Passio apostolorum Petri et Pauli (Pseudo-Marcellus) (BHL 6657). Lipsius (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 1, pp. 119–177.
Passio Petri et Pauli in Pseudo-Hegesippi historia (BHL 6648). V. Ussani (ed.), *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri V* (Vienna, 1932; New York, 1960 = CSEL 66), pp. 183–187.
Vouaux, L., *Les Actes de Pierre. Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1922).

Acta Philippi

Bovon, F., B. Bouvier, and F. Amsler (eds.), *Acta Philippi* (Turnhout, 1999 = CCSA 11–12).

Bovon, F., B. Bouvier, and F. Amsler (trans.), *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe. Introduction, notes et traductions* (Turnhout, 1996 = Apocryphes. Collection de poche de l'AELAC 8).

Agobard of Lyons, *De antiphonario*. L. Van Acker (ed.), *Agobardi Lugdunensis opera omnia* (Turnhout, 1981 = CCCM 52), pp. 335–351.

———, *Contra libros quatuor Amalarii*. L. Van Acker (ed.), *Agobardi Lugdunensis opera omnia* (Turnhout, 1981 = CCCM 52), pp. 353–367.

Alcuin, *Contra Elipandum*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 101.

Alfanus Salernitanus, *Carmina*. A. Lentini and F. Avagliano (eds.), *I carmi di Alfano* (Montecassino, 1974).

Antiphonal of Aosta. Aosta, Biblioteca del seminario maggiore, 6.

Antiphonal of Florence. Firenze, Arcivescovado-Biblioteca, s.c., saec. XII.

Aurelius Augustinus, *De civitate dei*. B. Dombart and A. Kalb (eds.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De civitate Dei* (Turnhout, 1955 = CCSL 47–48).

———, *Contra Adimantum*. J. Zycha (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Adimantum* (Vienna, 1891 = CSEL 25.1).

———, *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum*. K.-D. Daur (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* (Turnhout, 1985 = CCSL 49).

———, *Contra Faustum*. J. Zycha (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Faustum* (Vienna, 1891 = CSEL 25.1).

———, *Contra Felicem*. J. Zycha (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Felicem* (Vienna, 1892 = CSEL 25.2).

———, *Enarrationes in psalmos*. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont (eds.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in psalmos* (Turnhout, 1956 = CCSL 38–40).

———, *Epistulae*. A. Goldbacher (ed.), *Aurelii Augustini Epistolae* (Vienna, 1895–1981 = CSEL 34, 44, 57–58, 88).

———, *De haeresibus*. R. Van der Plaetse and C. Beukers (eds.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De haeresibus* (Turnhout, 1969 = CCSL 46).

———, *Quaestiones in heptateuchum libri vii*. J. Fraipont (ed.), *Aurelii Augustini Quaestiones in heptateuchum libri vii* (Turnhout, 1958 = CCSL 33).

———, *De sermone Domini in monte*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 34, cols. 1229–1308.

Beda Venerabilis, *In epistulas septem catholicas* VII. M.L.W. Laistner and D. Hurst (eds.), *Bedae Venerabilis In epistulas VII catholicas* (Turnhout, 1983 = CCSL 121).

———, *In Lucae evangelium expositio*. D. Hurst (ed.), *Bedae Venerabilis In Lucae evangelium expositio* (Turnhout, 1960 = CCSL 120).

———, *Martyrologium*. See 'Martyrologies'.

———, *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum*. M.L.W. Laistner and D. Hurst (eds.), *Bedae Venerabilis Expositio Actuum apostolorum, Retractatio in Actus apostolorum* et al. (Turnhout, 1983 = CCSL 121).

Bernaldus Presbyter Constantiensis, *De excommunicatis vitandis, de reconciliatione lapsorum et de fontibus iuris ecclesiastici*. F. Thaner (ed.), *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificium saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti* vol. 2 (Hanover, 1892).

Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem. Ed. R. Weber, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1969).

Breviarium apostolorum. A. Dumas and J. Deshusses (eds.), *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis* (Turnhout, 1981 = CCSL 159), pp. 489–490.

Canterbury Benedictional. R.M. Woolley (ed.), *The Canterbury Benedictional (British Museum, Harl. Ms. 2892)* (London, 1917 = HBS 51).
Concilia. N.P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, 2 vols. (London, 1990).

Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis. E. von Dobschütz (ed.), *Das* Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis *in kritischem Text herausgegeben und untersucht* (Leipzig, 1912 = Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 38.4).
Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 101, cols. 1097–1144.

Eusebius / Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica.* Th. Mommsen (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1903), vol. 2.1.

Evangelium Bartholomaei

Kaestli, J.-D. and P. Cherix (trans.), *L'évangile de Barthélemy d'après deux écrits apocryphes* (Turnhout, 1993).
Quaestiones Bartholomaei. J.-D. Kaestli (trans.), 'Questions de Barthélemy', in ÉAC 1, pp. 255–295.
——, 'Livre de la résurrection de Jésus-Christ par l'apôtre Barthélemy', ibid., pp. 297–356.

Florus Lugdunensis, *Opuscula adversus Amalarium.* J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 119, cols. 71–96.
Fregulf, *Historiae.* M.I. Allen (ed.), *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia* (Turnhout, 2002 = CCCM 169A).
Pseudo-Fulgentius, *Sermones.* J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 65.

Evangelium Judae. R. Kasser et al. (eds.), *The Gospel of Judas* (Washington, DC, 2006).

Gesta Philippi, in J. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1703), pp. 736–742; D. Alibert et al. (trans.), ÉAC 2, pp. 761–770.
Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam.* M. Adriaen (ed.), *Sancti Gregorii Magni Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam* (Turnhout, 1971 = CCSL 142).
Gregorius Turonensis, *Liber in gloria martyrum.* B. Krusch (ed.), MGH SRM I.2 (Hanover, 1885), pp. 484–561; R. van Dam (trans.), *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the martyrs* (Liverpool, 1988).
——, *Historiae.* B. Krusch and W. Levison (eds.), MGH SRM I.1 (Hanover, 1951).

Haimo of Auxerre (?), *Expositio super Genesim.* J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 131, cols. 51–134.
Hieronymus, *Commentarii in iv epistulas Paulinas.* J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 26.

———, *Commentarii in Esaiam*. M. Adriaen (ed.), *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I–XVIII* (Turnhout, 1963 = CCSL 73 and 73A).
———, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem*. F. Glorie (ed.), *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV* (Turnhout, 1964 = CCSL 75).
———, *Commentarii in Matheum*. D. Hurst (ed.), *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV* (Turnhout, 1969 = CCSL 77).
———, *Epistolae*. I. Hilberg (ed.), *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae* (Vienna, 1910 = CSEL 54–56).
———, *Praefatio in libros Salomonis*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 28, cols. 1305–1308.
———, *Tractatus lix in psalmos*. G. Morin (ed.), *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Tractatus sive homiliae in psalmos* (Turnhout, 1958 = CCSL 78).
———, *De viris illustribus*. C.A. Bernouilli (ed.), *Hieronymus und Gennadius De Viris illustribus* (Frankfurt, 1968).
Hincmar of Reims, *Opuscula et epistolae quae spectant ad causam Hincmari Laudunensis*. R. Schieffer (ed.), MGH Concilia 4, Suppl. 2 (Hanover, 2003).
Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres*. A. Knöpfler (ed.), *Rabani Mauri De institutione clericorum libri tres* (Munich, 1901).
———, *De rerum naturis*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 111, cols. 9–614.
———, *Martyrologium*. See 'Martyrologies'.
Hrotsvitha, *Opera omnia*. P. von Winterfeld (ed.), *Hrotsvithae opera*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1965).
Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon de studio legendi*. C.H. Buttimer (ed.), *Didascalicon de studio legendi* (Washington, 1939); French trans. M. Lemoine, *Hugues de Saint-Victor: L'art de lire* (Paris, 1991); Eng. trans. J. Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St Victor: a medieval guide to the arts* (New York, 1961).
———, *Sententiae de divinitate*. A.M. Piazzoni (ed.), '*Sententiae de divinitate*', *Studi Medievali* 23 (1982), 912–955.

Hymns

Blume, C. (ed.), *Die mozarabischen Hymnen des alt-spanischen Ritus* (Leipzig, 1897 / repr. New York, London 1961 = AH 27).
———, *Tropen zum proprium missarum* (Leipzig, 1906 = AH 49).
Blume, C. and G.M. Dreves (eds.), *Hymni inediti: Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1903 = AH 43).
Dreves, G.M. (ed.), *Hymnarius Severinianus: Das Hymnar der Abtei S. Severin in Neapel* (Leipzig, 1893 = AH 14A).
———, *Lateinische Hymnendichter* (Leipzig, 1905 = AH 48).

Innocentius I, *Epistola* VI.7, in H. Wurm (ed.), 'Decretales selectae ex antiquissimis Romanorum Pontificum epistulis decretalibus', *Apollinaris* 12 (1939), 74–78.
Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*. W.M. Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx* (Oxford, 1966).
———, *De ortu et obitu patrum*. C. Chaparro Gómez (ed. and trans.), *De ortu et obitu patrum* (Paris, 1985).

Jacobus da Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. G.P. Maggioni (ed.), *Legenda aurea* (Florence, 1998), 2 vols.; W. Granger Ryan (trans.), *The Golden Legend* (Princeton, 1993), 2 vols.

Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem. A. Renoux (ed.), *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121* (Turnhout, 1969 = Patrologia orientalis 35), 2 vols.
Leo Magnus, *Epistolae*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 54.
Liber pontificalis. L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le liber pontificalis*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris, 1955–1957).
Libri Carolini. A. Freeman (ed.), *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)* (Hanover, 1998 = MGH Concilia Tomus II Suppl. I).

Martyrium Matthaei. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 217–262; F. Amsler and B. Bouvier (trans.), 'Martyre de Matthieu', in ÉAC 2, pp. 539–564.

Martyrologies

Martyrologium of Ado. J. Dubois (ed.), *Le Martyrologe d'Adon: ses deux familles, ses trois recensions* (Paris, 1984).
Martyrologium of Bede. H. Quentin (ed.), *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1908), pp. 17–119.
Martyrologium of Florus. J. Dubois and G. Renaud (eds.), *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'anonyme Lyonnais et de Florus* (Paris, 1976).
Martyrologium Hieronymianum. H. Delehaye and H. Quentin (eds.), *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (Brussels, 1931 = AASS novembris II.2).
Martyrologium of Hrabanus Maurus. J. McCulloh (ed.), *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium* (Turnhout, 1979 = CCCM 44).
Martyrologium of Notker. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 131, cols. 1025–1164.
Martyrologium of Usuard. J. Dubois (ed.), *Le martyrologe d'Usuard* (Brussels, 1965 = Subsidia hagiographica 40).

Missal of Canosa. S. Rehle (ed.), *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W6)* (Regensburg, 1972 = Textus patristici et liturgici 9).

Libri de nativitate Mariae. R. Beyers and J. Gijsel (eds.), *Libri de natiuitate Mariae* (Turnhout, 1997 = CCSA 9–10).
Notker Balbulus, *De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 131, cols. 993–1004.
———, *Martyrologium*. See 'Martyrologies'.
———, *Notatio de illustribus viris*. E. Rauner (ed.), 'Notkers des Stammlers 'Notatio de illustribus uiris'', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986), 34–69.

Origenes, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*. R. Girod (ed.), *Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon Matthieu* (Paris, 1970 = SChr 162).
———, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*. M. Borret (ed.), *Homélies sur Ézéchiel* (Paris, 1989 = SChr 352).

Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo libri xii*. B. Paulus (ed.), *Paschasii Radberti Expositio in Matheo libri xii* (Turnhout, 1984 = CCCM 56–56B).

Passio sancti Bartholomaei apostoli, in M. Bonnet (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, pp. 128–150; D. Alibert et al. (trans.), ÉAC 2, pp. 789–808.

Passio sancti Jacobis fratris domini, in J. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1703), pp. 591–608; D. Alibert et al. (trans.), ÉAC 2, pp. 747–760.

Passio sancti Matthaei apostoli, in J. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1703), pp. 636–668; D. Alibert et al. (trans.), ÉAC 2, pp. 809–835.

Passio sanctorum Simonis et Judae apostolorum, in J. Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1703), pp. 608–636; D. Alibert et al. (trans.), ÉAC 2, pp. 837–864.

Petrus Blesensis, *De divisione et scriptoribus sacrorum librorum*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 207, cols. 1051–1056.

Petrus Damiani, *Sermones*. I. Lucchesi (ed.), *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones. Ad fidem antiquiorum codicum restituti* (Turnhout, 1983 = CCCM 57).

Petrus Diaconus, *Liber illustrium virorum archisterii Casinensis*. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL 173.

Philastrius Brixiensis, *Diuersarum hereseon liber*. F. Heylen (ed.), *Filastrii episcopi Brixiensis Diversarum hereseon liber* (Turnhout, 1957 = CCSL 9).

Poeta Saxo, in P. von Winterfeld (ed.), MGH AA IV.1 (Berlin, 1899), pp. 1–71.

Praedestinatus. F. Gori (ed.), *Arnobii Iuniori Praedestinatus qui dicitur* (Turnhout, 2000 = CCSL 25B).

The Mozarabic Psalter. J.P. Gilson (ed.) (London, 1905 = HBS 30).

Regesta pontificum romanorum P. Jaffé and W. Wattenbach (eds.) (Leipzig, 1885), 2 vols.

Regula Benedicti. J. Neufville and A. de Vogüé (eds.), *La Règle de saint Benoît* (Paris, 1971–1977 = SChr 181–186).

Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio super Genesim*. B. van Name Edwards (ed.), *Remigii Autissiodorensis Expositio super Genesim* (Turnhout, 1999 = CCCM 136).

Sacramentaries

Sacramentarium Augustodunense. O. Heiming (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis* (Turnhout, 1984 = CCSL 159B).

Sacramentarium Bergomense. A. Paredi (ed.), *Sacramentarium Bergomense: manoscritto del secolo IX della Biblioteca di S. Alessandro in Colonna in Bergamo* (Bergamo, 1962).

Sacramentary of Biasca. O. Heiming (ed.), *Das ambrosianische Sakramentar von Biasca* (Münster, 1969 = Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 51).

Sacramentarium Engolismense. P. Saint Roch (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis* (Turnhout, 1987 = CCSL 159C).

Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus. L. Mohlberg (ed.), *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (Rome, 1968 = Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series Maior, Fontes IV).

Sacramentarium Gellonense. A. Dumas and J. Deshusses (eds.), *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis* (Turnhout, 1981 = CCSL 159).
Missale Gothicum. E. Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum: e codice Vaticano Reginensi latino 317 editum* (Turnhout, 2005 = CCSL 159D).
Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum. J. Deshusses (ed.), *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (Fribourg, 1971 = Spicilegium Friburgense 16).
Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary. H.C.A. Dold and L. Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar im CLM 14429 der Staatsbibliothek München* (Beuron, 1964).
Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum. M. Férotin (ed.), *Le Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits Mozarabes* (Paris, 1912; repr. A. Ward and C. Johnson, Rome, 1995 = Bibliotheca Ephemerides liturgicae subsidia); J. Janini (ed.), 2 vols., *Liber missarum de Toledo* (Toledo, 1982).
Sacramentary of Prague. A. Dold (ed.), *Das Prager Sakramentar (Codex O.38 (fol. 1–120) der Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels)* (Beuron, 1949).
Sacramentarium Sangallense. L.C. Mohlberg (ed.), *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangall, No. 348)* (Münster, 1939 = Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 1–2).
Mohlberg, L.C. (ed.), *Sacramentarium Veronense*, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1994).
Sacramentarium Vicennense. A. Olivar (ed.), *El sacramentario de Vich* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1953 = Monumenta Hispaniae sacra. Serie litúrgica 4).

Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*. J. Fontaine (ed.), *Vie de saint Martin*. SChr 133–135 (Paris, 1967–1969).

Theodor Lector, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), PG 86.

Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina*. F. Leo (ed.), MGH AA IV.1.

Vitae and hagiographic collections:

Mombritius, B., *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum* (original edition *c.* 1479; re-edited by the monks of Solesmes in 1910).
Vita sancti Guthlaci auctore Felice. B. Colgrave (ed. and trans.), *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956).

Secondary sources

Acocella, N. *La decorazione pittorica di Montecassino dalle didascalie di Alfano I* (Salerno, 1966).
Alibert, D., 'Vision du monde et imaginaire dans quelques textes de la collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias', *Apocrypha* 11 (2000), 207–226.
Angenendt, A., *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1994).
Avallone, R., 'Alphanus von Salerno, das Licht Europas im 11. Jahrhundert', *Das Altertum* 15 (1969), 26–34.

Backus, I., *Historical method and confessional identity in the era of the Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden-Boston, 2003).
Baldzuhn, M., 'Remigius von Auxerre', *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 22 (2003), cols. 1146–1149.
Bardy, G., 'Apokryphen', in RAC 1, cols. 516–520.
Barone, G., 'Legenda aurea. Werk', in LMA V, cols. 1796–1796.
Bartelink, G.J.M., 'De demonologie van het vroege christendom', in G. Rooijakkers, L. Dresen-Coenders, M. Geerdes (eds.), *Duivelsbeelden. Een cultuurhistorische speurtocht door de Lage Landen* (Baarn, 1994), pp. 21–53.
'Bartholomew', in *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th ed. (2004), p. 43.
Battifol, P., 'Actes (apocryphes) des apôtres', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 1, cols. 354–362.
Baudot, J., *Vie des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier avec l'historique des fêtes* (Paris, 1935–1959).
Bauer, J., 'Philippus, Apostel: Apokryphe Schriften', in LThK VIII (1999), cols. 225–227.
Baumstark, A., 'Orientalisches in altspanischer Liturgie', *Oriens Christianus* 32 (1935), 1–37.
Baur, F.Chr., *Das Manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht und entwickelt* (Hildesheim, 1973; repr. Tübingen, 1831).
Bautz, F.W., 'Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims, Kanonist', in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 2 (1990), cols. 882–885.
———, 'Hrabanus Maurus', in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 2 (1990), cols. 1090–1093.
———, 'Hugo von St Viktor', in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 2 (1990), cols. 1148–1151.
Beitia, P., 'La figure des apôtres dans les martyrologes latins', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 107 (2006), 395–418.
Bernard, Ph., *Du chant romain au chant grégorien (IVème–XIIIème siècle)* (Paris, 1996).
———, 'Benoît d'Aniane est-il l'auteur de l'avertissement "Hucusque" et du Supplément au sacramentaire "Hadrianum"?', *Studi medievali* 39 (1998), 1–20.
Besson, G., 'La collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias: un essai de définition à partir de l'étude des manuscrits', *Apocrypha* 11 (2000), 181–194.
Bischoff, B., 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris erudiri* 6 (1954), 189–281 (repr. in *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1966), 205–275).
Bishko, C.J., 'Liturgical intercession at Cluny for the king-emperors of Léon', *Studia monastica* 3 (1961), 53–76.
Blaise, A., *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954).
———, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1966).
Blinzler, J., 'Simon Zelotes', in LThK IX (1964), cols. 772–773.
Bogaert, P.-M., 'Les Quatre Vivants, l'Évangile et les évangiles', *Revue théologique de Louvain* 32 (2001), 457–478.
Bonnet, M., 'La *Passion de S. Barthélemy*, en quelle langue a-t-elle été écrite?', *Analecta Bollandiana* 14 (1895), 353–366.

Born, A. van den, 'Jambres en Jannes', in idem. et al. (eds.), *Bijbelsch Woordenboek* (Roermond, 1941), col. 733.
Boshof, E., *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon. Leben und Werk* (Cologne, 1969 = Kölner historische Abhandlungen 17).
Bovon, F., 'La vie des apôtres. Traditions bibliques et narrations apocryphes', in F. Bovon et al. (eds.), *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 141–158.
——, et al. (eds.), *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen* (Geneva, 1981).
——, 'Vers une nouvelle édition de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne', *Augustinianum* 23 (1983), 373–378.
——, 'Les Actes de Philippe', in W. Haase et al. (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.25.6 (Berlin-New York, 1988), pp. 4431–4527.
——, 'The words of life in the *Acts of the apostle Andrew*', *Harvard Theological Review* 87 (1994) 139–154.
——, and P. Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1997).
——, A. Graham Brock and Chr.R. Matthews (eds.), *The apocryphal Acts of the apostles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).
——, 'Canonical and apocryphal Acts of apostles', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11 (2003), 165–194.
——, and B. Bouvier, 'Étienne le premier martyr: du livre canonique au récit apocryphe', in C. Breytenbach et al. (eds.), *Die Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung. Festschrift Eckhard Plühmacher* (Leiden etc., 2004), pp. 309–331.
——, 'Beyond the Book of Acts: Stephen, the first Christian martyr, in traditions outside the New Testament canon of Scripture', *Perspectives in religious studies* 32 (2005), 93–107.
Boynton, S., 'Recent research on Latin hymns', *Plainsong and medieval music* 3 (1996), 103–112.
——, 'Hymn: II Monophonic Latin hymn', in *The New Grove Dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd ed. (London, 2001), vol. 12, pp. 19–23.
Bradshaw, P., *The search for the origins of Christian worship. Sources and methods for the study of early liturgy* (New York-Oxford, 1992; revised edition 2002).
Bremmer, J., 'The five major apocryphal Acts: authors, place, time and readership', in idem., *The apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (Louvain, 2001), pp. 149–170.
Brossard-Dandré, M., 'La collection du Pseudo-Abdias. Approche narrative et cohérence interne', *Apocrypha* 11 (2000), 195–205.
——, 'La passion de Jacques le Mineur selon le Pseudo-Abdias et ses sources', in S.C. Mimouni (ed.), *Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du livres en hommage à Pierre Geoltrain* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 229–242.
Brown, P., *The cult of the saints. Its rise and function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981).
Bruyne, D. De, 'Les notes liturgiques du manuscrit 134 de la cathédrale de Trèves', *Revue Bénédictine* 33 (1921), 46–52.
Bueren, T. van, and A. van Leerdam (eds.), *Care for the here and the hereafter.* Memoria, *art and ritual in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2005).

Bullough, D.A., and A.L.H. Correa, 'Texts, chant and the chapel of Louis the Pious', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne's heir. New perspectives on the reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 489–508.
Butzmann, H. (ed.), 'Der Ezechiel-Kommentar des Hrabanus Maurus und seine älteste Handschrift', in *Kleine Schriften. Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag* (Graz, 1973), pp. 104–119.
Cabaniss, A., 'Florus of Lyons', *Classica et mediaevalia* 19 (1958), 212–232.
Cabrol, F., 'Mozarabe (la liturgie)', in DACL 12, cols. 390–491.
Cameron, A., *Christianity and the rhetoric of empire* (Berkely-Los Angeles-London, 1991).
Cannata, P., 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo: iconografia', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* IX, col. 129.
Carey, J., '*In Tenga Bithnua*: From Apocalypse to homily?', in Th. O'Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures and early medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 1999 = Instrumenta Patristica 31), pp. 51–68.
Casiday, A.M.C., 'St Aldhelm on apocrypha', *Journal of theological studies* n.s. 55 (2004), 147–157.
Charles, R.H. (ed.), *The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford, 1913; repr. 1973).
Chavasse, A., 'Le sermonnaire des Saints-Philippe-et-Jacques et le sermonnaire de Saint-Pierre', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 69 (1955), 17–24.
Collins, R., *Early medieval Spain. Unity in diversity (400–1000)*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1995).
Cooper, K., *The virgin and the bride* (Cambridge, Mass.,-London 1996).
Cuozzo, E., 'Robert Guiscard', in LMA VII, cols. 889–890.
Dagron, G., *Emperor and priest. The imperial office in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003 = Past and Present publications. Translation of *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin*, Paris, 1996).
David, P., *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris-Lisbon, 1947).
Delehaye, H., *Les légendes hagiographiques*, 4th ed. (Brussels, 1955).
——, *À travers trois siècles: l'oeuvre des Bollandistes (1615–1915)* (Brussels 1920 = Subsidia hagiographica 13A).
——, 'Loca sanctorum', *Analecta Bollandiana* 48 (1930), 1–65.
Dell'Omo, M.-A., 'Italien', in LMA V, cols. 705–762.
Delogu, P., 'Alfanus', in LMA I, cols. 389–390.
Demus, O., *The mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Chicago, 1984).
Desreumaux, A., 'Doctrine de l'apôtre Addaï', in ÉAC 1, pp. 1471–1525.
——, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (Turnhout, 1993).
Dolbeau, F., 'Deux opuscules latins, relatifs aux personnages de la Bible et antérieurs à Isidore de Séville', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 16 (1986), 83–139.
——, 'Une liste ancienne d'apôtres et de disciples, traduite du grec par Moïse de Bergame', *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986), 299–314.
——, 'Une liste latine de disciples et d'apôtres, traduite sur la recension grecque du Pseudo-Dorothée', *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990), 51–70.
——, 'Listes latines d'apôtres et de disciples, traduites du grec', *Apocrypha* 3 (1992), 259–278.

———, 'Nouvelles recherches sur le *De ortu et obitu prophetarum et apostolorum*', *Augustinianum* 34 (1994), 91–107.
———, 'Une liste latine d'apôtres et de disciples, compilée en Italie du Nord', *Analecta Bollandiana* 116 (1998), 5–24.
———, 'Comment travaillait un compilateur de la fin du VIIIe siècle: la genèse du *De ortu et obitu patriarcharum* du Pseudo-Isidore', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 56 (1998), 105–126.
———, 'Listes d'apôtres et de disciples', in ÉAC 2 (Paris, 2005), pp. 453–480.
Döpp, S., and W. Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i.B., 1998).
Doren, R. van, 'Filippus en Jacobus, de Jongere', in LWb I, cols. 753–754.
———, 'Mattheüs', in LWb II, col. 1679.
Drijvers, H.J.W., 'Abgarsage', in W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. 6. Auflage der von Edgar Hennecke begründeten Sammlung* (Tübingen, 1990–1997), vol. 1, pp. 389–395.
Dubois, J., *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin* (Turnhout, 1978 = Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental 26).
———, *Martyrologes: d'Usuard au Martyrologe romain. Articles réédités pour son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Abbeville 1990).
Dümler, B., 'Filastrius', in S. Döpp and W. Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i.B., 1998), pp. 235–236.
Dümmler, E. (ed.), *Das Formelbuch des Bischofs Salomo III. von Konstanz aus dem 9. Jahrhundert* (1857; repr. Osnabrück, 1964).
Ecker, 'Agobard von Lyon', in LMA I, cols. 216–217.
Ehrhard, A., *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1939, 1952 = Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur).
Eliav, Y.Z., 'The tomb of James, brother of Jesus, as *locus memoriae*', *Harvard Theological Review* 97 (2004), 33–59.
Ellebracht, M.P., *Remarks on the vocabulary of the ancient orations in the Missale Romanum* (Nijmegen, 1963).
Engemann, J., 'Melchisedech. Frühchristentum', in LMA VI, col. 491.
———, 'Matthaeus, Apostel', in LMA VI, col. 396.
Esbroeck, M. Van, 'Chronique arménienne', *Analecta Bollandiana* 80 (1962), 423–445.
———, 'La naissance du culte de saint Barthélémy en Arménie', *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 17 (1983), 171–195.
———, 'The rise of saint Bartholomew's cult in Armenia from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries', in T. Samuelian and M. Stone (eds.), *Medieval Armenian culture* (Chico, Calif., 1984), pp. 161–178.
Étaix, R., *Homéliaires patristiques latins. Recueil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux* (Paris, 1994).
Ewig, E., 'Die Kathedralpatrozinien im römischen und im fränkischen Gallien', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 79 (1960), 1–61.
———, 'Der Petrus- und Apostelkult im spätrömischen und fränkischen Gallien', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 71 (1960), 215–251.

———, 'Die Verehrung orientalischer Heiligen im spätrömischen Gallien und im Merowingerreich', in P. Classen and P. Scheibert (eds.), *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm* (Wiesbaden, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 385–400.
Ferreiro, A., *Simon Magus in patristic, medieval and early modern traditions* (Leiden, 2005).
Flamion, J., *Les Actes apocryphes de l'apôtre André* (Louvain, 1911).
———, 'Les Actes apocryphes de Pierre', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 9 (1908), 233–254, 465–490; 10 (1909), 5–29, 245–277; 11 (1910), 5–28, 223–256, 447–470, 675–692; 12 (1911), 209–230, 437–450.
Fleith, B., 'Legenda aurea: destination, utilisation, propagation', in S. Boesch (ed.), *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni* (Fasano di Brindisi, 1990), pp. 41–48.
———, 'Die *Legenda Aurea* und ihre dominikanischen Bruderlegendare. Aspekte der Quellenverhältnisse apokryphen Gedankenguts', *Apocrypha* 7 (1996), 167–191.
Freeman, A., 'Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*', *Speculum* 32 (1957), 663–705.
———, 'Further studies in the *Libri Carolini*, I. Paleographical problems in Vaticanus Latinus 7207, II. Patristic exegesis, Mozarabic antiphons, and the *Vetus Latina*', *Speculum* 40 (1965), 203–289.
———, 'Further studies in the *Libri Carolini*. III. The marginal notes in Vaticanus Latinus 7207', *Speculum* 46 (1971), 597–612.
———, 'Carolingian orthodoxy and the fate of the Libri Carolini', *Viator* 16 (1985), 65–108.
Frend, W.H.C., *The rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1984).
Fuhrmann, H., 'Fälscher unter sich: Zum Streit zwischen Hinkmar von Reims und Hinkmar von Laon', in M.T. Gibson and J. Nelson (eds.), *Charles the Bald. Court and kingdom* (Oxford, 1981; repr. Aldershot, 1990), pp. 224–234.
Gaiffier, B. De, 'La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en occident. A propos du Passionnaire hispanique', *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954), 134–165.
———, 'Hagiographie salernitaine. La translation de S. Matthieu', *Analecta Bollandiana* 80 (1962), 82–110.
———, 'La commémoraison de S. Matthieu au 6 Mai dans le Martyrologe Hiéronymien', *Analecta Bollandiana* 80 (1962), 111–115.
———, 'Le *Breviarium apostolorum* (BHL 652). Tradition manuscrite et oeuvres apparentées', *Analecta Bollandiana* 81 (1963), 89–116.
Gamber, K., 'Die mittelitalienisch-beneventanischen Plenarmissalien. Der Messbuchtypus des Metropolitangebiets von Rom im 9. / 10. Jahrhundert', *Sacris erudiri* 9 (1957), 265–285.
Gamber, K., *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, 1968–1988).
Gansweidt, B., 'Haimo von Auxerre', in LMA IV, col. 1864.
García Rodríguez, C., *El culto de los santos en la Espana romana y visigoda* (Madrid, 1966).
Geary, P., 'Exchange and interaction between the living and the dead in early medieval society', in idem., *Living with the dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 77–92.

Geerard, M., *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992).
Geerlings, W., 'Praedestinatus', in S. Döpp and W. Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i.B., 1998), p. 515.
Geertman, H.A.A.P., *More veterum. Il Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda antichità e nell'alto medioevo* (Groningen, 1975).
Geoltrain, P., and J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 2 (Paris, 2005).
Gneuss, H., *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1968).
———, 'Latin hymns in medieval England: future research', in B. Rowland (ed.), *Chaucer and Middle English Studies. Festschrift in honour of R.H. Robins* (London, 1974), pp. 407–424.
Goullet, M., *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Turnhout, 2005).
Gounelle, R., 'Sens et usage d'*apocryphus* dans la *Légende dorée*', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 189–210.
Haase, F., *Apostel und Evangelisten in den orientalischen Überlieferungen* (Münster, 1932).
Haefele, H.F., and Ch. Geschwind, 'Notker Balbulus (der Stammler) von Skt Gallen', in LMA VI, cols. 1289–1290.
Hall, Th., 'Apocrypha, biblical, in Old English', in M. Lapidge et al. (eds.), *The Blackwell Encylopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 42–43.
Harnack, A. von, *Das Neue Testament um das Jahr 200* (Freiburg i.B., 1889).
———, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3rd ed. (Freiburg i.B., 1894).
Harnoncourt, P., and H.-J. Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, vol. 2.1 (Regensburg, 1994 = Gottesdienst der Kirche, Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft VI.1).
Harper, J., *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1995).
Hartmann, L.M., *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, 4 vols. (Gotha, 1897–1915).
Hen, Y., *The royal patronage of liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001).
———, 'Rome, Anglo-Saxon England, and the formation of the Frankish liturgy', *Revue Bénédictine* 112 (2002), 301–322.
Hennig, J., 'Zum Anfang und Ende der liturgischen Tradition der *Divisio Apostolorum*', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 12 (1970), 302–311.
Herbers, K., 'Notker Balbulus', in *Biografisch-bibliografisches Kirchenlexikon* VI (1993), cols. 1032–1035.
Herbert, M., and M. McNamara (trans.), *Irish biblical apocrypha. Selected texts in translation* (Edinburgh, 1989).
Herrenschmidt, C., and F. Schmidt, 'Présentation', in J.-Cl. Picard, *Le continent apocryphe: essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne* (Turnhout, 1999 = Instrumenta patristica 36), pp. xi–xxxiii.
Hesbert, R.-J. (ed.), *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935).
———, (ed.), *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols (Rome, 1963).
———, 'L'Antiphonaire d'Amalaire', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 94 (1980), 176–194.
Heyse, E., *Hrabanus Maurus' Enzyklopädie "De rerum naturis". Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zur Methode der Kompilation* (Munich, 1969).

Hollaardt, A., 'Post pridie', in LWb II, cols. 2239–2240.
Huelsen, Chr., *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo. Cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence, 1927).
Hughes, A., *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office: a guide to their organization and terminology* (Toronto, 1982).
Huglo, M., 'Les remaniements de l'Antiphonaire Grégorien', in *Culto cristiano e politica imperiale carolingia: Atti del XVIII Convegno del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale (Todi, 9–12 ottobre 1977)* (Todi, 1979), pp. 89–120.
——, *Les sources du plain-chant et de la musique médiévale* (Aldershot, 2004).
Iogna-Prat, D. (ed.), *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre: de Muretach à Rémi, 830–908* (Paris, 1991).
——, 'Lieu de culte et exégèse liturgique à l'époque carolingienne', in C. Chazelle and B. van Name Edwards (eds.), *The study of the Bible in the Carolingian era* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 215–244.
Izydorczyk, Z. (ed.), *The medieval* Gospel of Nicodemus. *Texts, intertexts and contexts in Western Europe* (Tempe, 1997).
Jahn, W., *Untersuchungen zur normannischen Herrschaft in Süditalien* (1040–1100) (Frankfurt a.Main, 1989).
Janini, J., *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la catedral de Toledo* (Toledo, 1977).
Jászai, G., 'Jacobus der Jüngere', in LMA V, cols. 254–255.
Jenny, M., and W. Lipphardt, 'Hymnologie', in MGG *Sachteil* 4 (1996), cols. 459–464.
Jones, Chr., *A lost work by Amalarius of Metz: interpolations in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS. 154* (London, 2001 = HBS Subsidia, 2).
Jong, M. de, 'Sacrum palatium et ecclesia. L'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58 (2003), 1243–1269.
——, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 103–135.
——, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 2006), pp. 113–132.
——, *The penitential state. Authority and atonement in the age of Louis the Pious* (Cambridge, forthcoming 2009).
Jounel, P., *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* (Rome 1977 = Collection de l'École française de Rome 26).
——, 'Le culte des apôtres à Rome et dans la liturgie romaine', in *Saints et sainteté dans la liturgie. Conférences Saint-Serge 1986* (Paris, 1987), pp. 167–187.
Jungmann, J.A., *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet* (Münster im Westfalen, 1925 = Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 7 / 8).
Junod, É., 'Actes apocryphes et hérésies: le jugement de Photius', in F. Bovon et al. (eds.), *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 11–47.
——, 'Les vies de philosophes et les Actes apocryphes des apôtres poursuivent-ils un dessein similaire?', ibid., pp. 209–219.
——, 'Origène, Eusèbe et la tradition sur la répartition des champs de mission des apôtres (HE III.1,1–3)', ibid., pp. 233–248.
——, and J.-D. Kaestli, *L'Histoire des actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean* (Geneva-Lausanne-Neuchâtel, 1982 = Cahiers de la *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 7).
——, 'Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens? Remarques sur la

désignation d'un corpus et indications bibliographiques sur les instruments de travail récents', *Études théologiques et religieuses* 58 (1983), 409–421.
——, '"Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament": une appellation erronée et une collection artificielle. Discussion de la nouvelle définition proposée par W. Schneemelcher', *Apocrypha* 3 (1992), 17–46.
——, 'Le mystère apocryphe ou les richesses cachées d'une littérature méconnue', in J.-D. Kaestli and D. Marguerat (eds.), *Le mystère apocryphe* (Geneva, 1995), pp. 9–25.
——, 'Comment l'Évangile de Pierre s'est trouvé écarté des lectures de l'église dans les années 200', ibid., pp. 43–46.
Kaestli, J.-D., 'Les principales orientations de la recherche sur les Actes apocryphes des apôtres', in F. Bovon et al. (eds.), *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 49–67.
——, 'Les scènes d'attribution des champs de mission et de départ de l'apôtre dans les Actes apocryphes', ibid., pp. 249–264.
——, and D. Marguerat (eds.), *Le mystère apocryphe* (Geneva, 1995).
——, 'Les écrits apocryphes chrétiens. Pour une approche qui valorise leur diversité et leurs attaches bibliques', ibid., pp. 27–42.
Kaminsky, H.H., 'Sicard (Sichard), Fs. v. Benevent', in LMA VII, col. 1833.
Kampen, L. van, '*Acta Andreae* and Gregory's *De miraculis Andreae*', in *Vigiliae christianae* 45 (1991), 18–26.
Kay, S., 'Original skin: flaying, reading, and thinking in the legend of saint Bartholomew and other works', *The Journal of medieval and early modern studies* 36 (2006), 35–73.
Kellner, K., *Heortologie oder die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Kirchenjahres und der Heiligenfeste von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Freiburg i.B., 1911).
Kennedy, V.L., *The Saints of the canon of the mass* (Rome, 1938).
Kilburn, J.A.L., 'The contrasted 'other' in the Old English apocryphal Acts of Matthew, Simon and Jude', *Neophilologus* 87 (2003), 137–151.
King, A.A., *Liturgies of the primatial sees* (London, 1957).
——, *Liturgies of the past* (London, 1959).
Knowles, D., 'The Bollandists', in idem., *Great historical enterprises. Problems in monastic history* (London, 1963), pp. 3–32.
Kolping, A., 'Amalar von Metz und Florus von Lyon: Zeugen eines Wandels im liturgischen Mysterienverständnis in der Karolingerzeit', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 73 (1951), 424–464.
Kottje, R., 'Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Hinkmar von Reims und Hrabanus Maurus', in M.T. Gibson and J. Nelson (eds.), *Charles the Bald. Court and kingdom* (Oxford, 1981; repr. Aldershot, 1990), pp. 235–240.
——, 'Hrabanus Maurus, literarisches Werk', in LMA V, cols. 145–146.
Lattke, M., *Hymnus. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der antiken Hymnologie* (Freiburg-Göttingen, 1991).
Leclercq, H., 'Apocryphes', in DACL I.2, cols. 2555–2579.
Leclercq, J., 'Sermon sur la *Divisio apostolorum* attribuable à Gottschalk de Limbourg', *Sacris erudiri* 7 (1955), 219–228.
Lentini, A., 'Carmi d'interesse liturgico nell'opera di Alfano', *Studia Anselmiana* 68 (1979), 203–212.

Leonardi, C., 'Hagiographie', in LMA IV, cols. 1840–1862.
Levison, W., *England and the continent in the eighth century* (Oxford, 1946).
Lewis, Ch., and Ch. Short, *A Latin dictionary* (Oxford, repr. 1975).
Lipsius, R.A., *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 4 vols. (Braunschweig, 1883–1890; repr. Amsterdam, 1976).
Liturgisch Woordenboek, 2 vols. L. Brinkhoff e.a. (eds.) (Roermond, 1958–1968).
Loud, G.A., *The age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman conquest* (Harlow, 2000).
——, *The Latin church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007).
Lukken, G., *Rituelen in overvloed. Een kritische bezinning op de plaats en de gestalte van het christelijke ritueel in onze cultuur* (Baarn, 1999); English edition, *Ritual in abundance. Critical reflection on the place, form, and identity of Christian ritual in our culture* (Louvain, 2005).
Madey, J., 'Petrus von Blois', *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 16 (1999), cols. 1214–1215.
Madigan, K., *Olivi and the interpretation of Matthew in the high Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2003).
Manitius, M., *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1911–1931; repr. Munich, 1965–1974).
Mara, M.G., 'Apocrypha', in A. Di Berardino (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 56–58.
Marguerat, D., 'Pourquoi lire les apocryphes?', in J.-D. Kaestli and D. Marguerat (eds.), *Le mystère apocryphe* (Geneva, 1995), pp. 141–145.
Markschies, C., '"Neutestamentliche Apokryphen": Bemerkungen zu Geschichte und Zukunft einer von Edgar Hennecke im Jahr 1904 begründeten Quellensammlung', *Apocrypha* 9 (1998), pp. 97–132.
Markus, R., 'Church history and early church historians', in D. Baker (ed.), *The materials, sources and methods of ecclesiastical history* (Oxford, 1975 = Studies in church history 11), pp. 1–17.
Markwart, J., *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran* (Leipzig, 1905).
Martimort, A., 'La place des hymnes à l'Office dans les liturgies d'Occident', in C. Alzati and A. Majo, *Studi ambrosiani in onore di Mons. Pietro Borella* (Milan, 1982), pp. 138–153.
Masser, A., *Bibel, Apokrypha und Legenden. Geburt und Kindheit Jesu in der religiösen Epik des deutschen Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1969).
Matthews, C., *Philip: apostle and evangelist. Configurations of a tradition* (Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 2002).
McCulloh, J.M., 'Historical martyrologies in the Benedictine cultural tradition', in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine culture, 750–1050* (Louvain, 1983), pp. 114–131.
McKitterick, R., *The Frankish church and the Carolingian reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977).
——, *The Carolingians and the written word* (Cambridge, 1989).
——, *History and memory in the Carolingian world* (Cambridge, 2004).
McNamara, M. (ed.), *The apocrypha in the Irish church* (Dublin, 1975; repr. 1984).
Meer, F. van der, and Chr. Mohrmann, *Atlas van de oudchristelijke wereld* (Amsterdam-Brussels, 1961).

Messenger, R.E., 'The Mozarabic Hymnal', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 75 (1944), 103–126.

Messina, N., 'Ecce Ymnus Bartholomei Apostoli Quem Fecit Leo Melfitanus. Un inno italico riscattato dalla liturgia mozarabica (*AH* 27, 139 ss. 97)', *Euphrosyne. Revista de filologia clássica* n.s. 20 (1992), 349–363.

Metzger, B.M., 'Seventy or seventy-two disciples', *New Testament studies* 5 (1958–1959), 299–306.

——, *An introduction to the apocrypha*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1969).

——, *The canon of the New Testament: its origin, development and significance* (Oxford, 1997).

Metzger, M., *Les sacramentaires* (Turnhout, 1994 = Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental 70).

Meyer, H.B., 'Zeit und Gottesdienst. Anthropologische Bemerkungen zur liturgischen Zeit', in *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 31 (1981), 92–213.

Meyvaert, P., 'The authorship of the "Libri Carolini". Observations prompted by a recent book', *Revue Bénédictine* 89 (1979), 29–57.

Millares Carlo, A., *Manuscritos visigóticos* (Barcelona, 1963).

Mimouni, S.C. (ed.), *Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du livre en hommage à Pierre Geoltrain* (Turnhout, 2002).

——, 'Le concept d'apocryphité dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval. Réflexions en guise d'introduction', ibid., pp. 1–21.

Moeller, E. (ed.), *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, 4 vols. (Turnhout, 1971–1979 = CCSL 162–162C).

——, *Corpus praefationum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1980- = CCSL 161–161D).

——, J.-M. Clément and B. Coppieters 't Wallant (eds.), *Corpus orationum*, 14 vols. (Turnhout, 1992–2004 = CCSL 160–160M)

Mohrmann, Chr., *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1958–1977 = Storia e letteratura, vols. 65, 87, 103, 143).

Morard, F., 'La légende de Simon et Théonoé', *Langues orientales anciennes. Philologie et linguistique* 4 (1993), 147–183.

——, 'Légende de Simon et Théonoé', in ÉAC 1, pp. 1527–1551.

Mordek, H., 'Decretum Gelasianum', in LMA III, cols. 624–625.

Name Edwards, B. van der, 'In search of the authentic commentary on Genesis by Remigius of Auxerre', in D. Iogna-Prat (ed.), *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre: de Muretach à Rémi, 830–908* (Paris, 1991), pp. 399–412.

Nasrallah, L.S., ' "She became what the words signified": the Greek *Acts of Andrew*'s construction of the reader-disciple', in F. Bovon et al. (eds.), *The apocryphal Acts of the apostles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), pp. 233–258.

Nelson, J., 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar of Reims', *The English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 241–279.

——, 'The last years of Louis the Pious', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne's heir. New perspectives on the reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 147–159.

Neuß, W., *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Gemälde in der Kirche zu Schwarzrheindorf; ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Typologie der christlichen Kunst, vornehmlich in den Benediktinerklöstern* (Münster in Westf., 1912).

Nicklas, T., '"*Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*": ein Sammelband als Spiegel eines weitreichenden Paradigmenwechsels in der Apokryphenforschung', *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007), 70–95.
Niehr, K., 'Melchisedech. Mittelalter', in LMA VI, cols. 491–492.
Norelli, E., 'La notion de "mémoire" nous aide-t-elle à mieux comprendre la formation du canon du NT?', in P. Alexander and J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), *The canon of Scripture in Jewish and Christian traditions* (Lausanne, 2007), pp. 169–206.
Oexle, O.G., 'Memoria als Kultur', in idem. (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen, 1995), pp. 9–78.
O'Leary, A., 'An orthodox English homiliary? Aelfric's views on the apocryphal Acts of apostles', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 100 (1999), 15–27.
Otten, W., 'Carolingian theology', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *The medieval theologians. An introduction to theology in the medieval period* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 76–80.
Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds.), 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2005).
Oxford Dictionary of Saints, D.H. Farmer (ed.), 5th ed. (Oxford-New York, 2004).
Paciorek, P., 'Les diverses interprétations patristiques des Quatre Vivants d'Ézéchiel 1, 10 et de l'Apocalypse 4, 6–7 jusqu'au XIIe siècle', *Augustiniana* 51 (2001), 151–218.
Palazzo, E., *Le Moyen Age. Des origines aux XIIIe siècle* (Beauchesne, 1993 = Histoire des livres liturgiques).
Palmer, A., 'Actes de Thaddée', in ÉAC 2, pp. 643–660.
Peeters, P., *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes* (Brussels, 1942).
Peretto, M., 'Giuda Taddeo, apostolo, santo', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* VI, cols. 1152–1155.
Philippart, G., *Hagiographies: histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550* (Turnhout, 1994–).
———, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (Turnhout, 1997 = Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental 24–25).
Picard, J.-Cl., 'L'apocryphe à l'étroit. Notes historiographiques sur les corpus d'apocryphes bibliques', *Apocrypha* 1 (1990), 69–117.
———, *Le continent apocryphe: essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne* (Turnhout, 1999 = Instrumenta patristica 36).
Pinell, J., 'Mozarabische liturgie', in LWb II, cols. 1796–1825.
———, 'Los textos de la antigua litúrgica hispánica', in J.F. Rivera Recio and L. Brou (eds.) *Estudios sobre la liturgia mozárabe* (Toledo, 1965).
Plotino, R., 'Filippo, diacono ed Evangelista', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* V, cols. 719–721.
Poupon, G., 'Les actes apocryphes des apôtres de Lefèvre à Fabricius', in F. Bovon et al. (eds.), *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 25–47.
———, "Les 'Actes de Pierre' et leur remaniement", in W. Haase et al. (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.25.6 (Berlin, 1988), pp. 4363–4383.
Pratscher, W., *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus und die Jakobustradition* (Göttingen, 1987).
Prieur, J.-M., 'La figure de l'apôtre dans les actes apocryphes d'André', in

F. Bovon et al. (eds.), *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 121–139.
Quadlbauer, F., 'Artes praedicandi', in LMA I, cols. 1065–1066.
Raaijmakers, J., *Sacred time, sacred space. History and identity at the monastery of Fulda (744–856)* (Amsterdam, diss. 2003).
Rädle, F., et al., 'Apokryphen', in LMA I (1990), cols. 759–770.
Reilly, B.F. (ed.), *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter. The reception of the Roman liturgy in Léon-Castille in 1080* (New York, 1985).
Reinhardt, I., 'Allegorische liturgieverklaring', in LWb I, cols. 95–98.
Rivera Recio, J.F., 'La Herejia adopcionista del Siglo VIII y la Ortodoxía de la liturgia mozárabe', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 17 (1933), 506–536.
Rohault de Fleury, Ch., *Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1893–1900).
Rose, E., 'Celebrating Saint Martin in early medieval Gaul', in P. Post, G. Rouwhorst, L. van Tongeren, and A. Scheer (eds.), *Christian feast and festival. The dynamics of western liturgy and culture* (Louvain, 2001), pp. 267–286.
———, 'Liturgical commemoration of the saints in the *Missale Gothicum* (Vat.reg. lat. 317). New approaches to the liturgy of early medieval Gaul', *Vigiliae christianae* 58 (2004), 75–97.
———, 'Apocryphal traditions in medieval Latin liturgy. A new research project illustrated with the case of the apostle Andrew', *Apocrypha* 15 (2004), 115–138.
———, 'Hagiography as a liturgical act. Liturgical and hagiographic commemoration of the saints in the early Middle Ages', in M. Barnard, P. Post, and E. Rose (eds.), *A cloud of witnesses. Saints and role models in Christian liturgy* (Louvain, 2005), pp. 161–183.
———, 'Apostelen, magiërs en demonen. Middeleeuwse hymnen voor Matteüs en Filippus en hun apocriefe bronnen', in M. Hoondert et al. (eds.), *Door mensen gezongen. Liturgische muziek in portretten* (Kampen, 2005), pp. 73–90.
———, ''*Erant enim sine deo vero*': iconoclash in apocryphal and liturgical apostle traditions of the medieval West', in W. van Asselt, P. van Geest, D. Müller, and Th. Salemink (eds.), *Iconoclasm and iconoclash: struggle for religious identity* (Leiden-Boston, 2007 = Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 14), pp. 217–233.
———, 'Pseudo-Abdias and the problem of apostle apocrypha in the Latin Middle Ages: a literary and liturgical perspective', *Sanctorum. Rivista dell'associazione per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia* 4 (2007), 7–24.
———, 'Clash of altars, clash of cults: the foundation of Christianity in apocryphal and liturgical texts', in A. Rauwel (ed.), *Autour de l'autel chrétien médiéval III* (Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre) (Turnhout, forthcoming).
Röwekamp, G., 'Leucius', in S. Döpp and W. Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i.B., 1998), p. 396.
Rushforth, G.McN., *Medieval Christian imagery* (Oxford, 1936).
Sand, A., 'Matthäusevangelium', in LThK VI (1997), cols. 1479–1482.
Saxer, V., *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles. Les témoignages de Tertullien, Cyprien, et Augustin à la lumière de l'archéologie africaine* (Paris, 1980 = Théologie historique 55).

Schieffer, R., 'Hinkmar von Reims', in LMA V, col. 30.
Schlager, K., 'Hymnus III: Mittelalter', in MGG *Sachteil* 4 (1996), cols. 479–490.
Schmid, J., 'Matthäus, Apostel', in LThK VII (1962), cols. 172–173.
Schneemelcher, W., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. 6. Auflage der von Edgar Hennecke begründeten Sammlung*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1990–1997).
Seeliger, H.R., 'Matthäus: Verehrung', in LThK VI (1997), cols. 1477–1478.
Sheehan, J., *The Enlightenment Bible: translation, scholarship, culture* (Princeton, 2005).
Siegmund, A., *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur* (Munich, 1949).
Skeb, M., 'Rufin von Aquilea', in S. Döpp and W. Geerlings, *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i.B., 1998), p. 536.
Smalley, B., *The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1983).
Spadafora, F., 'Bartolomeo Apostolo', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* II, cols. 852–878.
——, 'Matteo, evangelista, apostolo, santo', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* IX, col. 120.
——, 'Simone, apostolo, santo', in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* XI, cols. 1169–1173.
Starowieyski, M., 'Les apocryphes chez les écrivains du IVe siècle', *Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae* 6 (1978), 132–141.
Stegmüller, F., *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1950–1980).
Steimer, B., 'Tertullian', in S. Döpp and W. Geerlings, *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i.B., 1998), pp. 582–587.
Stevenson, K., 'Animal rites: the four Living Creatures in patristic exegesis and liturgy', in M.F. Wiles and E.J. Yarnold (eds.), *Studia patristica* 34 (Louvain etc., 2001), pp. 470–492.
Stiegman, E., 'Bernard of Clairvaux, William of St Thierry, the Victorines', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *The medieval theologians* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 129–155.
Swanson, R.N., *Unity and diversity in the church* (Oxford, 1996 = Studies in Church History 32).
Taft, R., *The liturgy of the hours in East and West: the origins of the divine office and its meaning for today* (Collegeville, 1986).
Talamo Atenolfi, G. (ed.), *I testi medioevali degli atti di S. Matteo l'evangelista* (Rome, 1958).
Tanner, N.P., 'Pastoral care: the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *A history of pastoral care* (London, 2000), pp. 112–125.
Taviani-Carozzi, H., *La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IXe–XIe siècle)*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1991).
Thacker, A., 'In search of saints: the English church and the cult of Roman apostles and martyrs in the seventh and eighth centuries', in J.M.H. Smith (ed.), *Early medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in honour of David Bullough* (Leiden etc., 2000).
Urner, H., *Die außerbiblische Lesung im christlichen Gottesdienst. Ihre Vorgeschichte und Geschichte bis zur Zeit Augustins* (Göttingen, 1952).
Vanderjagt, A., '*Ad fontes!*—The early humanist concern for the *Hebraica veritas*', in M. Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. A history of its interpretation* (Göttingen, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 154–189.
Vismans, Th., 'Amalarius', in LWb I, cols. 126–127.

Vogel, C., *Medieval liturgy: an introduction to the sources* (Washington, DC, 1986).
Wallach, L., *Diplomatic studies in Latin and Greek documents from the Carolingian age* (Ithaca-London, 1977).
Walsh, M., 'St Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England: The evolution of an apocryphal hero', *Annuale Mediaevale* 20 (1981), 97–122.
Ward, R.B., 'James of Jerusalem in the first two centuries', in W. Haase et al. (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.26.1 (Berlin, 1992), pp. 779–812.
Wermelinger, O., 'Apocrypha', in C. Mayer (ed.), *Augustinus-Lexikon* (Basel, 1986–1994), vol. 1, cols. 385–391.
Wilmart, A., 'Un lecteur ennemi d'Amalaire', *Revue Bénédictine* 36 (1924), 317–329.
——, and E. Tisserant, 'Fragments grecs et latins de l'*Évangile de Barthélemy*', *Revue biblique internationale* 10 (1913), 161–190.
Woelk, M., 'Matthäus: Ikonographie', in LThK VI (1997), col. 1478.
Zelzer, K. (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten* (Berlin, 1977 = Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 122).
——, 'Zur Frage des Autors der *Miracula beati Andreae apostoli* und zur Sprache des Gregor von Tours', *Grazer Beiträge* 6 (1977), 217–241.
Zender, M., 'Bartholomaeus', in LMA I, col. 1491.

SUBJECT INDEX

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

MITTELLATEINISCHE STUDIEN UND TEXTE

1. Metellus von Tegernsee. Die "Quirinalien". Untersuchungen und Text 1965. Jacobsen (Ed.).
2. Pseudo-Ovidius. *De vetula*. Untersuchungen und Text. Klopsch (Ed.). 1967. ISBN 90 04 01464 0
3. Lange. *Philologische Studien zur Latinität west-hispanischer Privaturkunden des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*. Langosch (Ed.). 1966. ISBN 90 04 01465 9
4. Joseph Iscanus. Werke und Briefe. Gompf (Ed.). 1970. ISBN 90 04 01466 7
5. *Numen litterarum:* the Old and New in Latin Poetry. Witke (Ed.). 1971.
6. Theobald. *Physiologus*. Edited with introduction, critical apparatus, translation and commentary by P.T. Eden. 1972. ISBN 90 04 03444 7
7. Geoffrey of Vitry. *The commentary of Geoffrey of Vitry on Claudian* De Raptu Proserpinae. Transcribed by A.K. Clarke and P.M. Giles with an introduction and notes by A.K. Clarke. 1973. ISBN 90 04 03674 1
8. Könsgen, E. *Epistolae duorum amantium*. Briefe Abaelards und Heloïses? Edition und Untersuchungen. 1974. ISBN 90 04 03875 2
9. Dronke, P. *Fabula*. Explorations into the uses of myth in medieval Platonism. Reprint 1985. ISBN 90 04 07715 4
10. Jacobsen, P.C. *Flodoard von Reims*. Sein Leben und seine Dichtung *De Triumphis Christi*. 1978. ISBN 90 04 05407 3
11. Langosch, K. *Donisii Comedia Pamphile*. Untersuchungen und Text. 1979. ISBN 90 04 06007 3
12. Mann, J. *Ysengrimus*. Text with translations, commentary and introduction. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08103 8
13. Petrus Presbyter. *Carmina*. Text und Kommentar. Herausgegeben von M. Rener. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08797 4
14. Nigel of Canterbury. *The Passion of St. Lawrence, Epigrams and Marginal Poems*. Edited and translated by J. M. Ziolkowski. ISBN 90 04 08865 2
15. Orbàn, A.P. *Novus Phisiologus*. Nach Hs. Darmstadt 2780. 1989. ISBN 90 04 08894 6
16. Hilarius Aurelianensis. *Versus et Ludi epistolae. Ludus Danielis Belouacensis*. [Die Egerton Handschrift]. Bemerkungen zur Musik des Daniel-Spiels von Beauvais von M. Bielitz. 1989. ISBN 90 04 09070 3
17. Unterkircher, F. (Ed.). *Hugo von Lüttich: Peregrinarius*. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09325 7
18. Hugo von Mâcon. *Die* Gesta Militum. Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk der Erzählliteratur des Hochmittelalters. Herausgegeben von E. Könsgen. 1990. ISBN 90 04 09201 3
19. Harting-Corrêa, A. *Walahfrid Strabo's Libellus de Exordiis et Incrementis*. 1996. ISBN 90 04 09669 8.
20. Westra, H.J. (Ed.). *The Berlin Commentary on Martianus Capella's* De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. Book I. With the Assistance of C. Vester. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10170 5
21. Mann, N. & B. Munk Olsen (Eds.). *Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship.* Proceedings of the Second European Science Foundation Workshop on the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London, Warburg Institute, 27-28 November 1992). 1997. ISBN 90 04 10508 5
22. Haye, T. *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter.* Analyse einer Gattung. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10668 5
23. Westra, H.J. & T. Kupke (Eds.). *The Berlin Commentary on Martianus Capella's* De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. Book II. With the Assistance of B. Garstad. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10968 4

24. Ricklin, T. *Der Traum der Philosophie im 12. Jahrhundert.* Traum zwischen Constantinus Africanus und Aristoteles. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11116 6
25. Stein, E. *Clericus in Speculo.* Studien zur lateinischen Verssatire des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts und Erstedition des "Speculum prelatorum". 1999. ISBN 90 04 11329 0
26. Meckelnborg, C. und B. Schneider. *Opusculum fabularum.* Die Fabelsammlung der Berliner Handschrift Theol. lat. fol. 142. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11333 9
27. Haye, T. *Oratio.* Mittelalterliche Redekunst in lateinischer Sprache. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11335 5
28. Murgatroyd, P. *The Amatory Elegies of Johannes Secundus.* 2000. ISBN 90 04 11603 6
29. Marenbon, P.G. (Ed.) *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages.* A Festschrift for Peter Dronke. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11964 7
30. Teeuwen, M. *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres.* The *Ars Musica* in Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12525 6
31. O'Sullivan, S. *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius'* Psychomachia. The Weitz Tradition. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13804 8
32. Könsgen, E. *Iohannes de Garlandia.* Carmen de Misteriis Ecclesie. Mit einem Kommentar von Peter Dinter. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13953 2
33. Marcovich, M.† *M. Marvli Delmatae Davidias.* 2006. ISBN 90 04 14963 5
34. Jiroušková, L. Die Visio Pauli. Wege und Wandlungen einer orientalischen Apokryphe im lateinischen Mittelalter, unter Einschluß der alttschechischen und deutschsprachigen Textzeugen. 2006. ISBN-13: 978 90 04 15055 3, ISBN-10: 90 04 15055 2
35. Colker, M.L. (Ed.). Petronius Rediuiuus *et Helias Tripolanensis.* id est *Petronius Rediuiuus* Quod Heliae Tripolanensis Videtur Necnon Fragmenta (Alia) Heliae Tripolanensis. 2007. ISBN 978 90 04 15707 1
36. Kretschmer, M.T. *Rewriting Roman History in the Middle Ages.* The 'Historia Romana' and the Manuscript Bamberg, Hist. 3. 2007. ISBN 978 90 04 15710 1
37. Cardelle de Hartmann, C. *Lateinische Dialoge 1200-1400.* Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium. 2007. ISBN 978 90 04 16033 0
38. Braun, L. *Ancilla Calliopeae.* Ein Repertorium der neulateinischen Epik Frankreichs (1500-1700). 2007. ISBN 978 16242 6
39. Heinzer, F. *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten.* 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16668 4
40. Rose, E. *Ritual Memory.* The Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500-1215). 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17171 8